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CAPT. RILEY.

CAPT. RILEY.

SEQUEL
TO
RILEY'S NARRATIVE:
BEING A SKETCH OF
INTERESTING INCIDENTS

IN THE
LIFE, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS
OF

CAPT. JAMES RILEY,

**FROM THE PERIOD OF HIS RETURN TO HIS NATIVE LAND, AFTER HIS SHIP-
WRECK, CAPTIVITY AND SUFFERINGS AMONG THE ARABS
OF THE DESERT, AS RELATED IN HIS NAR-
RATIVE, UNTIL HIS DEATH.**

Compiled chiefly from the Original Journal and Manuscripts left at his death in
possession of his son,

W. WILLSHIRE RILEY.

COLUMBUS:
PUBLISHED BY GEORGE BREWSTER.
SPRINGFIELD, A. R. WRIGHT.

1851.

ENTERED ACCORDING TO ACT OF CONGRESS, IN THE YEAR 1851,
BY GEORGE BREWSTER AND W. WILLSHIRE RILEY,
IN THE CLERK'S OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR THE
DISTRICT OF OHIO.

SCOTT & BASCOM, PRINTERS.

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INTRODUCTION.

BY THE PUBLISHERS.

CERTAIN works there are, which, on account of their portraying graphically and truthfully the customs and manners of the inhabitants of certain sections of the world or epochs of time, become *standard* works. Such works are not mere literary or scientific mushrooms of an hour, nor are they sought alone by readers living in the day, or age, or section, that produced them. But, being a collection of facts, or theories, or sentiments, or events, or historic portraits, belonging to that day, or age, or section, they possess an interest permanent, perpetual, enduring throughout all after generations. As such a work we regard this, which we here offer to a discerning public.

Although some twenty years have intervened, since the most of it was composed, and although its author

has long since passed into the spirit land, yet it must be interesting to readers of the present day, notwithstanding the lateness of its publication, inasmuch as it is probably the most perfect description ever given of the country in which the author once suffered bitterly as a captive, and of the customs and manners and costume of its inhabitants, whom he revisited after his redemption from captivity.

We confidently believe, therefore, that it will be ranked among standard works, and take its position in the library beside Rollin and Robertson, not by any means on account of the great and profound erudition of its author, but on account of his thorough knowledge of the scenes and events which he describes, and of the important information which it communicates concerning a country of which so little is known to Christendom.

From another important fact we draw the conclusion, that we are offering to a discerning public no unacceptable work, but rather one which shall be highly prized by all who may read it. The "Narrative" of Capt. RILEY, of which this book is a "Sequel," or a continuation, has been read by more than a *million* now living in these United States. Probably no book

that was ever published, in either this or any other country, obtained so extensive a circulation in so short a period, as did that Narrative, and probably none ever published, made so striking and permanent an impression upon the minds of those that read it. Many a youth received an onward impulse in his literary career from that work alone. Many a man, now high in station, can date the creation of an ardent thirst for reading and knowledge, from his perusal when young, of that work. And from these facts, we think we draw the correct conclusion, that a vast number of people, in these United States, who were familiar with the Narrative, would be glad to know more of the author and his writings.

One word more before we close, about the portraits and embellishments of this book. They were sketched from *real life*, by an artist of rare merit and talent, by the name of H. P. Heidemans, who had himself been cast away on the coast of Barbary, and had been a fellow sufferer in captivity. It is said, by those who know, that these sketches were perfect copies of nature, and were originally designed at the suggestion of Capt. Riley, and in company with him, from real subjects, with the express intention of being engraved for the

Journal, should it ever be published. They were sketched by the Artist in 1836, and have been preserved with Capt. Riley's papers ever since.

With these preliminary remarks, we now commend the work to the regards, patronage and perusal of the public.

THE PUBLISHERS.

Columbus, Ohio, Jan. 8, 1851.

CORRECTION.

A mistake was made in printing the Engravings of this work. The *name* of "Bo Mohammed," the old Moor, who was 103 years of age, was interchanged in a part of the edition with that of a "Moorish citizen in every day costume," as represented between pages 264 and 265.

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SEQUEL TO
RILEY'S NARRATIVE.

SEQUEL TO

RILEY'S NARRATIVE.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Journey through the West—Appointment as Surveyor of Public Lands—Removal to the West—Sickness—Disappointments at the Capital—Elected to the Legislature of Ohio—Disastrous Events—Return to New York.

IN revising my Narrative, sixteen years after its first publication, I have deemed it proper to add a continued sketch of my life from that period; as some of my fellow citizens may have a wish to know whether I am yet in existence, and may still feel an interest in my welfare.

Soon after my arrival in the United States from Africa, I was appointed by my friend JAMES SIMPSON, Esq., U. S. Consul at Morocco, as his agent near our Government, with powers to settle his claims against, and his accounts of more than twenty years standing with, the Government. I accordingly proceeded to Washington City, and spent the greater portion of my time there during three sessions of Congress; endeavoring, by petitioning that body, to obtain for Mr. Simpson the allowance of his claim for past services, etc., but without success; nor did I settle his accounts at the Treasury Department, inasmuch as his vouchers and other documents had not arrived in this country until he

himself was no more. Having spent the greater portion and prime of his life among barbarians, he died at Tangier, in 1820. During my stay at Washington I became acquainted with the principal officers of the Government, and with very many of the distinguished and highly gifted members of both Houses of Congress, and received from them all the attention and commiseration I could desire.

In the spring of 1818, my joints being still stiff and painful from the effects of my great sufferings while in captivity among the Arabs, I resolved upon a journey into and through the Western States, on horseback; in the hope that such exercise would prove beneficial to my health; and at the same time I intended to fix upon a location for my future residence.

I accordingly took my route through Pennsylvania to Pittsburg, down the Ohio river to Maysville, and thence to Lexington in Kentucky. Delighted with the country, and with the industry of a population, which, in the short space of a few years, had converted a wilderness into fruitful fields; and, as if by magic, had raised up towns and cities, vieing in beauty and consequence with those of many centuries standing, in other parts of the world. But their description is already widely circulated. At Lexington I was hospitably received and elegantly entertained by the Hon. Henry Clay, Col. James Morrison, and Mr. Holly, president of the Transylvania University, Dr. Preston, W. Brown, Cabot Breckenridge, Esq., and other distinguished and worthy citizens.

Proceeding thence by Frankfort to Louisville, I examined the celebrated Falls, or Rapids, of the Ohio, falling about twenty-three feet in the distance of one mile. After satisfying my curiosity at this place and vicinity, I passed through Indiana to Vincennes, and through Illinois as far as Vandalia, and returned by Madison and Lawrenceburgh to Cincinnati, Ohio; thence to Chillicothe and Columbus, (famous for their remains of antiquity,) by Lebanon and Circleville. From Columbus I passed through

Mt. Vernon and Newark to Zanesville ; thence up the Muskingum river to Coshocton ; thence up the Tuscarawas river to New Philadelphia, and thence by post to Cleveland, on Lake Erie, situated at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, emptying into the Lake. This point is the northern terminus of the Ohio Canal. From Cleveland I traveled through a fine country, good roads, pleasant towns and flourishing villages, to Erie in Pennsylvania. I here examined the extensive, but shallow harbor, that now contains the remains of the fleet, (mostly dismantled and sunk, however,)* that, under the command of Commodore Perry and Capt. Elliott, obtained the signal victory over, and captured the British fleet during the late war with Great Britain.

From Erie, I went to Buffalo, in New York, situated at the commencement of the outlet of this Mediterranean of the interior of America. Buffalo is delightfully situated, and is no doubt destined to become an emporium of the commerce of the Western States. Buffalo Creek is a safe harbor, when once entered ; and the New York grand canal has its highest level, and its extensive basins and ware houses near to and adjoining this creek.

I then crossed the Niagara river to Fort Erie, in Canada, and took a view of the interesting and classic grounds, where the battles of Erie and of Chippewa, and the terrible battle of Bridgewater, or Lundy's Lane, and that of Queenstown, were fought by our gallant armies during the last war. I also examined that wonderful and stupendous natural curiosity, the cataract of Niagara ; descriptions of which, though conveying but faint ideas of the grandeur of the scene, are in the hands of all. I then recrossed the river at Lewistown, and took passage, with my horse, on board a steamboat on Lake Ontario. While stopping at the mouth of the Genessee river, I rode to Rochester, and after visiting Carthage and its romantic ridge, and the Genessee Falls, I

* Several of those vessels have since been raised and fitted up for the commerce and navigation of the Lakes.—[Ed.]

returned on board, and the next day arrived at Sackett's Harbor ; having thus navigated nearly the whole length of that fine inland sea, Lake Ontario.

At Sackett's Harbor lay the fleet, (part of which is sunk, and the remainder dismantled,) with which that brave, prudent, and excellent officer, Commodore Isaac Chauncey, protected the southern shores of that Lake from invasion and destruction by the British and Indian forces during most of the last war ; and baffled the endeavors of Sir James L. Yeo, the British Admiral on that Lake, with superior forces. There were two large and excellent ships of war remaining on the stocks, and under cover, which had not been completed at the peace of 1815.

Passing on through Utica, Albany, &c., I reached New York in October 1818, having traveled more than *four thousand miles* since leaving this city ; and found myself, in a considerable degree, relieved from the pains and stiffness in my joints and limbs, the effects of my former sufferings on another continent. In January following, I journeyed to Washington, and spent the winter of 1819 in that city ; and being furnished with recommendations from the Hon. Josiah Meigs, Commissioner of the General Land Office, and his nephew, Hon. Return J. Meigs, Post Master General, together with other papers, I forwarded them to Edward Tiffin, Esq., Surveyor General of the U. S., at Chillicothe, Ohio. Soon after, I received from that distinguished officer, the appointment of deputy Surveyor. After much delay, occasioned by intermittent fevers, I reached Chillicothe in June, and the forests on the St. Mary's river in July, and commenced surveying on the lands purchased from the Indians by the treaty of St. Mary's in 1818. In December of 1819, having finished for the season, I went again to Washington, where my friends endeavored to obtain for me an appointment as Register, or Receiver of public moneys in some of the new land offices in Ohio ; but, as was stated, because I was not a resident citizen of that State, they did not succeed.

In May, 1820, I removed with my family to Chillicothe, and in June, again commenced surveying on the Auglaize river, and continued that work on and between the Auglaize and Maumee rivers until winter. In September of 1820, I had purchased of the U. S., at the land office in Piqua, seven tracts of land, at a rapid in the St. Mary's river, called the "*Devil's Race-ground*," adjoining the Indiana line. Intending to build mills, I immediately commenced improving my purchase by erecting a dam across the river and building a log cabin, into which, with my family, I removed in January, 1821, in the midst of a wilderness, environed by wolves and other beasts of prey, which, by their howlings, frightened sleep from my wife and children for a season. The nearest human habitation was then twelve miles from mine, (and that was occupied by a half breed Indian family,) and the nearest *path* (not a road) was four miles distant.

Here, in earnest, began my labors as a pioneer; the forest, however, vast as it seemed, gave way before the axe; fires burned around, rapidly consuming the fallen timber, cut and rolled together by sinewy arms; the limbs and brushwood having been cut, piled and consumed, large trees were cleft into rails and fences were raised to enclose our cornfields and secure from the deer, and other animals, our expected harvest. Another cabin was built, gardens were laid off, fenced, ploughed and planted. A mill race a quarter of a mile long, twelve feet deep at its head, and twenty feet wide, was dug; a frame saw-mill was built, and fitted with machinery. In May, of the same year, I went again to my business of surveying at or near Fort Defiance, at the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee rivers, and up Tiffin's river, and to the northern boundary of Ohio.

In August of 1821, my whole family were taken sick with bilious and remittent fevers; and as no help could be had to attend upon us in our distress, or even to get us water to quench our feverish thirst, on the arrival of my son James, with a surveying

party, we were placed upon beds in a wagon, and thus conveyed sixty miles, to Piqua, on the Miami river, through deep forests, mud and rain ; tormented by myriads of flies, musquitoes and other insects, that swarmed throughout that fertile but unsettled region. On our route, which occupied five days, the settlers were generally more miserable, if possible, than ourselves ; — sick, and destitute, not only of the comforts, but even of the necessaries of life, they could afford us no assistance, and excited our sincere commiseration.

In the month of November, the severe frosts having effectually destroyed the noxious effluvia, arising from the decomposition of the luxuriant vegetation which lately covered those level and marshy regions, we traveled slowly and feebly back, still shaking occasionally with agues, and our skins resembling tanned leather ; but we found our cornfields filled with strong and nutritious food ; and by March, 1822, we were enabled to resume our occupations.

In 1822, I built a two story frame grist-mill ; but through the deceit and unskillful management of the builders and mill-wrights, I was subjected to enormous expenditures. During this year, I surveyed the lands on both sides of the St. Mary's to Fort Wayne, Indiana, including that important place of trade, and deposit ; and the lands in Indiana, between the St. Mary's and Maumee rivers, (about twenty townships of six miles square.) I laid out a town on my own land, situated on the rapids of the St. Mary's, and called it *Willshire*, in honor of my friend and redeemer from slavery in Mogadore.

In the course of 1822, several families came into my neighborhood and settled there ; but I had to cut out roads, build bridges over the streams, and strain every nerve and exert all my faculties, and bring into requisition all my resources to improve the country and procure provisions, the most of which I had hauled from near Dayton, ninety miles, on wagons, for my own family and those of my neighbors, who were destitute. The

enormous expenditure attending this state of things swallowed up all the profits of my surveying, and created debts beyond my income, and my means of payment.

In the winter of 1822-3, I went to Washington City, in order to apply for an appointment to the Indian Agency of Fort Wayne, then about to be vacated by John Hays, Esq. ; having been encouraged by my friends to ask for an office, in full confidence of obtaining what I should desire from the President, if in his power. With that view, I called on some of my friends, who furnished me with the following letter of recommendation to the President :

“ WASHINGTON CITY, Feb’y 21st, 1822.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES :

SIR : The undersigned respectfully represent, that, entertaining a high regard and esteem for their fellow citizen, Capt. James Riley, now of the State of Ohio, they are induced to present him to the consideration of the President of the United States.

His sufferings are well known, and have not been without their utility, by enabling him to enlarge the sphere of knowledge of the interior of Africa.

His acquaintance with man, both in his civilized and uncivilized state, as well as his personal demeanor, seems to qualify him peculiarly for an agency among the Aborigines of our country, in the reclaiming and improving of whom, the citizens of the United States are interested, and in the due execution of the benevolent designs of the Government.

ELIJAH BOARDMAN,
JAMES LANMAN,
BENJAMIN RUGGLES,
JOHN CHANDLER,
DAVID CHAMBERS,
JOSEPH VANCE,
JEREMIAH H. PIERSON,
RETURN J. MEIGS,
RICHARD M. JOHNSON,
JOHN SLOANE,
GIDEON TOMLINSON,

HENRY W. EDWARDS.
N. BARBER,
A. STERLING,
DANIEL BURROWS,
EBENEZER STODDARD,
HENRY CLAY,
JOHN W. TAYLOR,
SAMUEL D. INGHAM,
J. T. JOHNSON,
JAMES BROWN,
LEVI BARKER.”

I likewise addressed a letter, stating my views, to the Secretary of War, the Hon. John C. Calhoun. I waited upon that gentleman, to whom I was well known, having, by special invitation, frequently attended his parties. This candid officer told me frankly that unless I could get the senators from Indiana to agree not to oppose my nomination in the Senate, or to signify to him or to the President their acquiescence, I could not be nominated, because I lived in the State of Ohio, and was not a resident of Indiana; even though the line of my land was the State line, and my residence only thirty miles from the seat of the agency: "For," said he, "Capt. Grey, formerly of the army, and a citizen of the *whole Union*, being recently nominated by the President, Indian Agent in Louisiana, his nomination was successfully opposed in the Senate, because he was not a resident citizen of Louisiana; and I was constrained, (said the Secretary,) to ask Mr. Brown to withdraw his opposition, as a particular favor to the President; which request he acceded to, and thereupon Capt. Grey was confirmed." He said further, that the President had thus yielded the point — a point he himself would never have abandoned; he assured me of his interest in my favor and his continued good wishes.

I then wrote to Gen. Noble, senator from Indiana, to whom I was known, and informed him of the expected vacancy, and solicited his interest in my favor: he had before no knowledge of the vacancy; but said, if such did occur, he must obtain the appointment for a gentleman of his acquaintance, one who opposed him, however, but who possessed military merit, &c. — That he should wait on the President and Secretary on the subject, and that he could not consent to my appointment; but that he would most cheerfully aid me in obtaining any other office I might desire. Gen. John Tipton was subsequently appointed.

Thus, finding my suit refused, I returned to Willshire, where I found my mill-dams carried away by the freshets, and my prop-

erty fast hastening to ruin ; a post office had, however, been established there, and the road past my premises made a mail route.

In October, 1823, I was elected to the General Assembly of Ohio, for the counties of Darke and Shelby ; to the county of Darke the new counties of Mercer, Vanwert, Paulding and Williams were judicially attached. I served as a member of the State Legislature during the session, commencing in December, 1823. During that session, all the Statute Laws of Ohio were revised. Several new counties were established — the Canal policy and internal improvements promoted, and advances made towards a system of common schools in the State, hitherto neglected.

The public surveying in Ohio being completed, and the policy of the head of the Surveying Department depriving me of further employment in that capacity, my funds and my resources exhausted, and the frequent breaking away and destruction of my mill works, together with law suits and other vexatious matters, proved ruinous.

From the commencement of my residence in Ohio, my health became precarious ; every year I was seized with bilious fevers of the most violent character, generally early in July ; these invariably continued until the frosts in October destroyed the putrescent vegetable matter floating in the atmosphere. Dysenteries, cramps, and chronic pains would *taper off* the fevers, so that I was not able to attend much to my business until in February or March, and then not with my usual vigor. Every member of my family annually suffered extremely from the effects of the climate.

In January, 1826, while still feeble from the effects of my yearly fever, I was attacked by the inflammation of the brain, (phrenitis,) which bereft me of reason for some weeks ; when, by suppuration at my right ear, I was measurably relieved ; but the disorder still caused the suppuration at my ear, and to swell and break about my throat every few days, until March ; at which

time it was transferred to the back of my neck, and there caused me the most excruciating torment. After suffering thus for three months, without being able to lie down, or get relief except by using opium in large quantities, I was removed by water to Fort Wayne, Indiana, for the benefit of constant medical attendance. The swellings and racking pains in the back of my neck, that obstinately continued and yet could not be brought to suppuration, and the swellings and breakings about the throat, together with numerous other sores, as counter-irritants, caused by the insertion of several skeins of silk, as seatons, into different parts of my neck and throat, (twelve at one time,) kept me in continual agony. And this continued until July, when my wife and eldest son, James Watson, insisted upon my being removed by water towards New York, where, if I could but live to arrive, by breathing again the pure sea air to which I had been accustomed, they had hopes of my recovery.

Worn down and emaciated by sickness and distress, as lean as an Arab, having lost the use of some of my organs, and deprived of the common use of my limbs, I could with difficulty be persuaded to submit to this alternative. I at length yielded my assent; and my son James, being then clerk of the county of Mercer, but who had left his business in the charge of others, and attended me night and day during my long continued illness, in the most tender and truly affectionate manner, now procured a boat, fitted an awning over it, and having placed me on a feather bed on board, and having taken, as I supposed, a last farewell of my family and numerous friends, who aided me in my embarkation, with my son James and proper attendants on board, we cast off, and were accompanied for several miles down the river by the Masonic Fraternity, who extended their brotherly kindness as far as possible, and are entitled to my warm and grateful consideration.

After a painful passage for me, having been obliged to stop and blister my neck on the route, in order to lessen the dreadful effects of the cramps and spasms, we arrived at Fort Meigs, at the lower rapids of the Maumee river, on the fifth of July. The next day I was placed on board a packet schooner for Detroit, in Michigan. Here my son was constrained to take his leave and return to attend the sessions of the courts at St. Mary's. I was landed at Detroit on the eighth : a consultation of physicians and surgeons was held, who recommended and prescribed only sedative remedies, and advised immediate change of climate as my only chance of recovery.

I was accordingly placed on board the steamboat Henry Clay, for Buffalo ; and then on board an elegant canal packet for Albany, and again taking a steamboat, arrived at the city of New York on the 24th of July, 1826. I was at once carried to the residence of my worthy brother, Asher Riley, by whom I was received with all the kindness and tenderness my situation required. His house became my home ; himself and his kind hearted and amiable wife, (who is sister to Gen. John Wool, of the United States army,) administered to all my wants and wishes in the kindest manner possible. I then became the patient of the celebrated Dr. Valentine Mott, professor of Surgery, etc., in Columbia College, in that city. His skill and advice were very beneficial.

In the course of a few weeks, the cramps and spasms having ceased to affect me, by one effort I broke off from the use of opium, the necessity of which, for lulling and easing my spasms and pains, had increased so much, that during several months I had been forced to take more than twenty grains of this deleterious drug daily !

By Dr. Mott's advice, I used Dr. Ireland's *medicated vapor bath*, and my skin, which was before yellow, hard, and husky, assumed its healthy appearance ; and perspiration, which had long

been checked, or stopped entirely, was renewed. My health rapidly improved; the stiffness of my joints gradually subsided; my appetite and my flesh increased; and in November of that year I was able to walk two miles in a day.

Thus the change of climate has restored me to comfortable health, and the use of my limbs and organs, except my *right ear*; and although my section of the State of Ohio is now flourishing, and the whole State become one of the most fertile and important in the Union, yet, as health is the greatest of all blessings, and as neither myself nor my family can enjoy that blessing in an interior region, I have therefore continued, and design to continue, in New York or its vicinity; and have determined to remove my family from the scenes of so much toil, and such continual disasters, sickness and distress. But my children have there learned those important lessons of industry, economy and diligence, which will be of essential service to them in after life.

VIEW OF GIBRALTAR.—No. 1.

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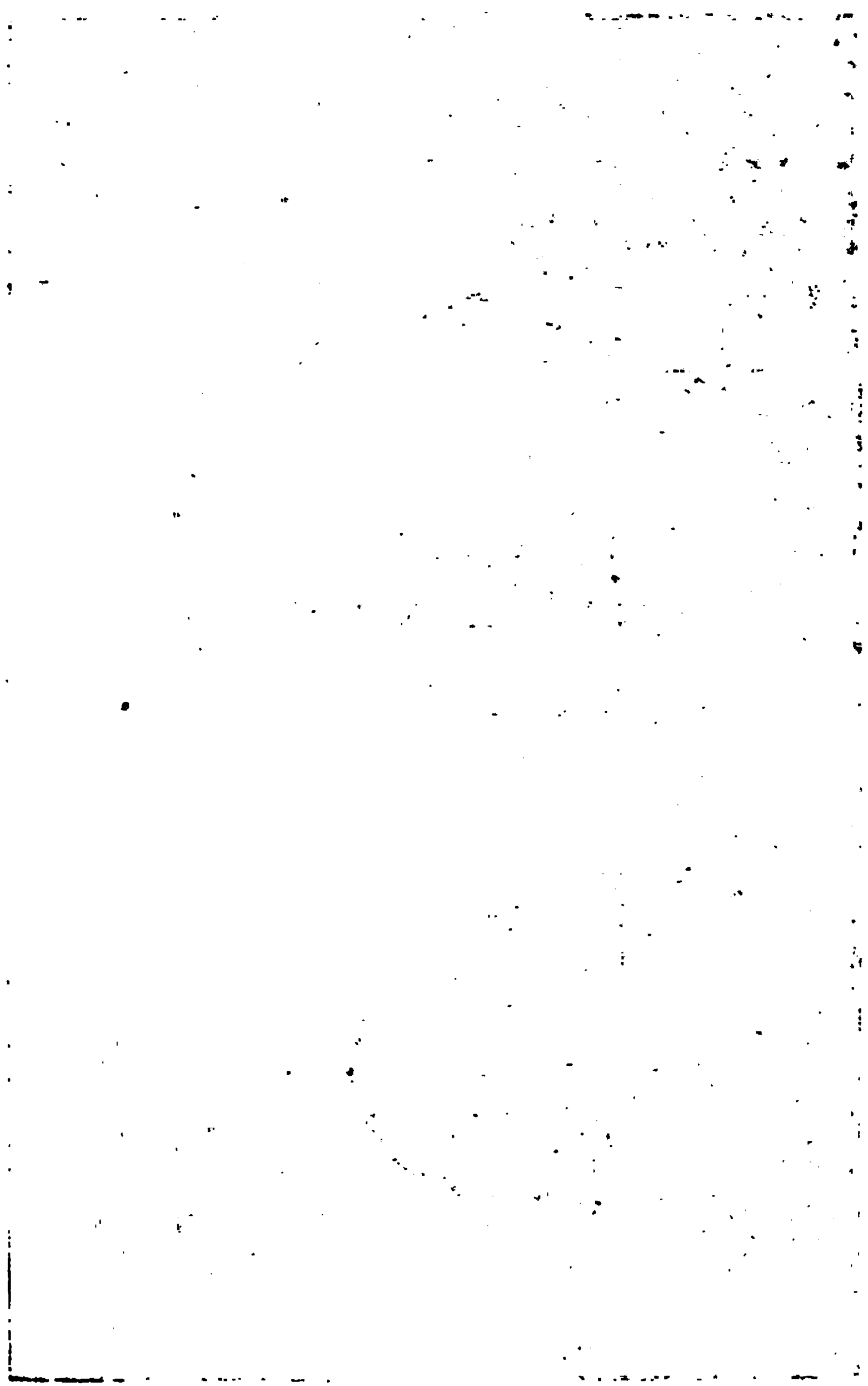
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VIEW OF C... ALTAR - No. 1.

CHAPTER II.

BY THE COMPILER.

Removal of Capt. Riley to New York — Various voyages to the West Indies and other places — Narrow escape from Wreck upon the Florida Reefs — Voyage to Gibraltar — Encounters a Vessel, supposed to be a Pirate — Visit to Horatio Sprague, Esq. — Letter to Hon. John Forsythe, Secretary of the Navy — Voyage to Mogadore — Visit to William Willshire, Esq. — Letter from Willshire to Capt. Riley's son — Second Voyage to Mogadore — Letter to Hon. Levi Woodbury, and his answer — Letter on Colonization to Rev. R. Gurley.

IN consequence of accident, brought about by the illness of Capt. Riley, as stated in the foregoing chapter, and the subsequent removal of his family from their 'location' in the West to the sea-board, a portion of his papers, including his autobiography from the year 1827 to 1833, has been, unfortunately, lost. Enough, however, remains to enable us to trace the principal events of his life through this period ; and his public and commercial correspondence which is entirely preserved, affords ample material for following the course of his eventful career, without subjecting the reader to the disagreeable necessity of passing this hiatus in his narrative, with no connecting link to carry him forward to a following chapter, wherein the narrative of Capt. Riley, as written by himself, is resumed.

In May, 1828, as before intimated, Capt. Riley removed his family from Ohio to the city of New York, where he himself had previously gone ; and where, up to this period, he had remained, an invalid, under the influence of the disease contracted by his exposures in the western wilderness. About this time, however,

his health being in a considerable degree restored by a short sea-voyage, which he had undertaken upon the strong recommendation of his medical adviser, Dr. Mott, he concluded to enter again upon his profession as a Mariner ; hoping that thereby his constitutional vigor, so much impaired by his inland hardships and exposures, would be completely restored : this seemed the more probable as his former voyage had proved so decidedly beneficial.

Accordingly, in November, 1828, he entered into a Charter Party with Mr. Richard Grist of North Carolina, as the supercargo of the brig "Hope's Delight," of one hundred and seventy tons burthen, then lying at New York, for a trading voyage to the West Indies. In pursuance of this arrangement he sailed about the first of December following, and arrived at St. Thomas about the 19th of the same month ; from thence he proceeded with his brig to St. Croix, whence, having discharged cargo, he sailed, in ballast, about the 1st of Jan., 1829, to Turk's Island, where he freighted with salt, and returned to New York in March following.

Capt. Riley's health was so materially benefitted by this voyage and his winter's residence in the mild climate of the West Indies, that, upon his return to New York, he felt himself able once more to take command of his vessel, and consequently determined to prosecute his business upon the ocean. Accordingly, on the 6th of April, 1829, in company with Mr. D. D. Swift, of New York, he purchased the brig "James Monroe," and set about preparing her for sea. His preparations for sailing being soon completed, he first sailed for Norfolk, Virginia, and returned to New York laden with pine wood and lumber. Several voyages of the same character were made during the summer of that year to and from Norfolk, on board the 'James Monroe,' but being entirely of a trading character no incident of interest to the reader transpired in those voyages. His health continued to improve, though he had never yet found himself fully restored to the activity and

strength he had enjoyed previous to his wonderful hardships and exposures on the African deserts and in the wilds of America.

In September of 1829, he sailed again for Norfolk, and thence he freighted the brig to Guadaloupe; there he took cargo for New Orleans, touching at St. Thomas. He arrived at New Orleans in Jan., 1830; and, having taken on board a cargo of tobacco, returned to Guadaloupe in March of that year: disposing of a part of his cargo at Guadaloupe, he proceeded in April to Martinico, and sold the remainder there. From Martinico he sailed to St. Thomas in ballast, and there procured exchanges for remittance to New York. From St. Thomas he continued his course to New Orleans, where he again arrived in May. In June following, he freighted his brig at New Orleans, for Baltimore, where he arrived and discharged his freight in July. From Baltimore he sailed again for Norfolk, Va., and shipped a cargo of wheat, with which he sailed for New York, at which port he arrived on the 26th of September, 1830, having been absent from his family about one year.

At Norfolk he was detained some weeks by a severe indisposition, which at one time threatened his life; but from this he had quite recovered before his arrival at New York. His cargo of wheat being disposed of, he freighted the brig for New Orleans, and sailed from New York the same fall. At New Orleans he again took freight for Charleston, S. C.; there freighted for New Orleans again and despatched the brig under command of his mate, and he himself took passage in a Charleston packet for New York, where he arrived in March 1831.

In the same month he purchased at New York the packet brig "William Tell," and in April following he embarked on board of this vessel for New Orleans with freight. He sailed on the 6th of April, and continued his voyage for some days very prosperously. But he finally had the misfortune, in the night time, to run upon the Florida Reefs — or Tortugas Shoals. By this ac-

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VIEW OF GIBRALTAR.--No. 2.

experience among the barbarians of two continents, could scarcely be frightened from his propriety, by the extortionate demands of the *civilized* inhabitants on the coast of Florida.

He accordingly appeared and defended the suit; which of course caused considerable detention of the business of the voyage. During this delay, however, Captain Riley was not idle, for he had the damages sustained by the brig in her contact with the shoals, repaired, so far as these could be done, and made her ready for sea. The repairs of the injury to the vessel cost about \$4000, where every thing supplied for such repairs, was charged at exorbitant rates; the venders knowing and availing themselves of the necessity of the case; and the further sum of \$3000, including fees and costs, was adjudged to the wreckers as salvage; thus causing a loss of about \$7000, which, fortunately for Capt. Riley, was covered by insurance and finally repaid to him.*

* The following memorandum made by Capt. Riley, and found among his papers, will be read with interest, in relation to the danger of shipwrecks upon the Tortugas.

"List of some of the vessels that have been ashore or wrecked on the extensive and dangerous reefs of the Dry Tortugas, from April 1829, to June 1831,—about two years.

Brig "Orion,"	.....	Capt. Foster,	.....	April, 1829.
" "Splendid,"	.....	" Clarke,	.....	March, 1830.
" "Union Bass,"	.....	" ———	.....	April, 1830.
A Schooner with Lumber,		" ———	.....	——— 1830.
" "Cotton...		" ———	.....	——— 1830.
Ship "Dumfries,"	.....	" Marcy,—total loss	....	April, 1831.
Brig "Exertion,"	.....	" Thomas,—loss 500 bales,		April, 1831.
" "Wm. Tell,"	.....	" Riley,	.....	May, 1831.

This last Brig was got off, but sent her cargo to Key West by the licensed wrecking schooner *Pizarro*, (significantly named,) Capt. Hoxie; who, with his owner, Mr. Green, libelled the said brig in the U. S. District Court on her arrival there, (where her own crew had taken her!) for salvage; and after wading through the due process of this court, for no other crime than having been unfortunate; and having sold at auction, under the direction of the Marshal, a cargo of goods that cost nine thousand dollars, for six thousand two hundred dollars, to pay salvage, costs, and enormous charges, the libel on the brig was raised, and she (very reluctantly on the part of the inhabitants!) was suffered to go away with the little balance of her cargo to New Orleans for repairs."

The "William Tell" being refitted so as to render her in a manner sea-worthy, Capt. Riley resumed his voyage to New Orleans, where he arrived on the 5th of June, and after discharging his freight he hove the brig out and completed the repairs rendered necessary by her late concussion upon the Tortugas.

About the last of June, 1831, having repaired the brig and freighted her, he set sail from New Orleans bound for Gibraltar *via* New York. This course was rendered advisable, inasmuch as at the time of sailing from New Orleans the "sickly season" had commenced, and by taking clean Bills of Health from the port of New York, a disagreeable and tedious quarantine at Gibraltar would be avoided.

On his passage out from New York during this voyage, Capt. Riley encountered a suspicious craft, which, had it not been for the formidable appointments of his brig, and the firmness of her commander, would evidently have caused him no inconsiderable effort for the protection of his vessel, crew and cargo.

The circumstances attending the visit of the strange vessel to the "William Tell," and the manner of the officer who came on board, all indicated beyond conjecture, that the object and purpose of the visit on the part of the strange vessel, were piratical.

The following extract from the log-book of the "William Tell" will present a concise, yet interesting account of the demonstrations and manœuvres of the piratical vessel:

"Saturday, Aug. 3, 1831. Light winds at East — course by the compass N. 23 deg. W. N. W. Sea smooth — all sail set — going $4\frac{1}{2}$ knots — latitude 32 deg. — longitude 23 deg. 50 min. — Madeira bearing east 80 leagues. Saw a sail on our larboard bow, which proved to be a *long, low, clipper-built schooner*, dodging along to the southward under her jib, fore-topsail and mainsail — foresail in the brails, and all other sails handed. When within three miles she tacked across our bow, and set Spanish

colors. She was full of men, and altogether looked suspicious. We loaded our two six pounders with round and langrage, and got them ready for action — loaded our muskets, and had all hands at their stations in case of need, and, thus prepared, kept on our course. The schooner hove too, right athwart our bow — manned and lowered her boat, *man-of-war fashion*, and pulled off for leeward. We ran close to the schooner's stern; the captain (Riley,) hailed her, and in reply was ordered to heave to under her lee, but we kept on our course; her boat came near, took a rope, and an officer came on deck, apparently in a great rage, and peremptorily ordered the crew to heave the brig to. After casting a rapid glance at our condition, our guns ready — matches burning — a sentinel walking the deck with a fixed bayonet, and a show of small arms, the officer said to his men, in Spanish: "What! preparation? They don't mean to be robbed!" Capt. Riley, much incensed at his manner, demanded harshly, also speaking in Spanish, what he wanted, and how he dared to order the crew about in their captain's presence? This seemed to cool the Spaniard a little, and he answered that he wanted to know where we were from, and what was our cargo; (he did not know where Mogadore was, or what cargoes came from there,) but got no satisfaction in reply to his inquiries.

Capt. Riley then demanded where the schooner was from, and where bound to? He answered from Havana, bound to Africa. What part of Africa? The northern part. What part *in* Africa? The officer at this seemed uneasy, and seeing some hands with cold shot ready to sink his boat along-side, answered, after much hesitation, to AXIM!* Do you want any thing? No — only to know your longitude. To this, the answer was: 23 deg. 50 m. west from London. He remarked: it was impossible! for his reckoning was 25 deg. west of Cadiz, (a difference of 8 degs.)

* Axim is a small port on the Gold Coast, near Cape Three Points.

He further said that he wanted water, but could go to the Cape de Verd Islands for it. Capt. Riley told him that it was only two day's sail to the Canaries; but he said he would go to the Cape de Verds, it would be on his route. Finding we would not heave the brig to, he abruptly and without ceremony left us.

This officer, from his impudent, authoritative, quick and commanding manner, we believe was the captain of the schooner. On reaching his vessel his boat and men were whipped on deck in an instant, and all hands immediately ran aft, where they remained some twenty minutes, seemingly in consultation, — the schooner still lying to; after that, she filled away, wore round, and again stood to the southward under the same easy sail.

She appeared to be Baltimore built — about 150 tons — nearly new — coppered to the bends — painted black, and in a light set of ballast. She had on deck two small carriage guns, and a strong purchase tackle down her main hatchway, which was open. We counted eighteen stout looking men on board; there was a man in the boat for an interpreter who spoke good English.

It appeared to us that our not bringing to, and our vigorous and timely preparation for defence, had spoiled his plans for plundering, etc. From the whole appearance and singular manoeuvres of this vessel — the conduct of her officers and crew — we believe her to be manned by Pirates; and that by keeping on our course, and our preparation for defence, together with the circumstance of Capt. Riley's speaking fluently the Spanish language, and his determined deportment towards our suspicious visitors, saved us from being plundered; and, most probably from being also butchered, under the provisions of that clause in the code of piracy, that "dead men tell no tales;" and we think, moreover, that the crew of the strange vessel could account for some of the recently missing vessels in these seas."

The following memorandum is also found on the log-book of the

“ William Tell,” in relation to the same subject ; the incidents of which happened on a former voyage to the same brig, but before she came under the command of Capt. Riley.

“ On a voyage from Gibraltar to New York, on the 27th of July last, (1831,) within two hundred miles of the same spot, a schooner similar in appearance and in manners, ran along side the “ William Tell,” which was then running 8 knots. She had Spanish colors — wanted to know our longitude — said he was eighty days from Porto Rico, bound to Cadiz, being then in latitude 28 deg. and longitude 24 deg. west from London — (entirely out of her course) — looked suspicious. We believe this now seen is the same vessel ; and that, being here in the usual route of the East and West Indiamen from Europe, this is her cruising station as a bucanier ; but on the former occasion we had too good a breeze to be easily stopped, and both our guns on the side next to the schooner, which had two hands aloft on the look out, and about twenty men on her deck.”

Having rid himself of the company of his unpleasant visitors, Capt. Riley pursued his voyage, and without further interruption to his progress arrived safely at Gibraltar by a short passage.

At Gibraltar Capt. Riley had the pleasure of again meeting Horatio Sprague, Esq., through whose friendly aid, in connexion with the humane and generous efforts of Mr. Willshire, at Mogadore, he had been redeemed from barbarian captivity among the Arabs in 1815, and enabled to return to the bosom of his family, and to exchange the rigors and inhuman servitude of the wandering Arabs of the African deserts for the enjoyment of freedom in his native land. Although about fifteen years had elapsed since that time, yet it can readily be imagined that their meeting on this occasion would forcibly recall to the recollection of each, the sad and pitiable condition from which Capt. Riley had been

rescued, and thus their first interview, after the lapse of years and change of circumstances, must have been to them one of the most intense and affecting interest.

Mr. Sprague, an American by birth, had remained at Gibraltar, engaged in commercial business, ever since his first acquaintance with Capt. Riley ; and by reason of his position at that port, had been called upon to contribute his aid for the deliverance of many other Americans from the misfortunes of shipwreck upon an inhospitable shore, and the horrors of a barbarian captivity ; and, to his honor it should be known, that those suffering under such calamities never appealed to him in vain : his heart ever glowed with sympathy at the rehearsal of their misfortunes ; and his hand and purse were ever ready and open to yield them aid and comfort. The worth and amiability of Mr. Sprague's character need not, however, be dwelt upon by the compiler, as the subject will be fully explained in the following judicious and forcible communication by Capt. Riley, addressed to Hon. John Forsythe, then Secretary of State of the United States. Independent of the expressions of respect and generous sentiments of admiration manifested in relation to Mr. Sprague, Capt. Riley's views concerning the deficiencies and inefficiency of the American Consular System, as conducted by our government, render this communication worthy of the attention of every citizen, from the highest official functionary, to the humblest voter. It is the plain, unvarnished, common sense statement of an individual of great experience in the maritime trade of different ports in almost every foreign country with which our own holds any commercial relation ; and being such, it is for that sole reason, of more importance than all the pompous and vapory declamation of "land lubber" Congressmen, who are as ignorant and fearful of villainous salt water as they are of the "salt-petre." The communication was written upon Capt. Riley's return to New York from his voyage to Gibraltar, and by its insertion here it must be taken in some de-

gree from its strict chronological position, but the reasons for so doing are obvious, as a portion of it has reference to Mr. Sprague.

“NEW YORK, March 28, 1832.

SIR: In the summer of 1830, I enclosed to the Department of State a copy of a correspondence between John Mearchem, Esq., Consul of the United States for the Island of Martinique, and myself, in relation to his demands of five dollars from every American vessel trading to, or touching at ports of that Island, without rendering them any services whatever, and without the shadow of legality in his favor to sustain such a demand, but merely, as stated by the consul himself, to obtain for himself a subsistence, a transcript of which I again enclose.

At the same time I took occasion to transmit from New Orleans to the same high functionary, some hints of my views, derived from and since confirmed by experience, with regard to our consular system; and submitting to him some reasons why the present system should be abandoned, and another, more efficacious and more worthy of the high rank our nation now holds in the commercial world, substituted therefor; and this is done under the conscientious consideration that, for the general benefit of the commercial community, every citizen should contribute his mite of information and experience that he may have gained on subjects with which all cannot be conversant. It affords me much pleasure and gratification to find that the Government has at length taken this important subject into consideration, as shown by a recommendation in the late message of the President.

At an early stage of our political existence, when our commerce was quite limited and our nation loaded with a heavy public debt, the consular system then adopted was tolerable, and perhaps justifiable, because the government could find either native or foreign merchants willing to accept the office, in ports to which we traded, and who performed the duties thereof — in their own

way, to be sure — for the sake of the commercial advantages derived therefrom, without charging our government with any official salaries.

But America now stands on different grounds ; and the change of circumstances in relation to our commerce, seems not only to justify, but to demand a corresponding revision of the consular system. Our commerce is coextensive with the habitable globe ; our ships sail on every sea, and trade in every clime ; and the hardy enterprize of our citizens has far outstripped that of the oldest and greatest maritime nations of the old world — more especially in the seal and whale fisheries, as well as in other important branches of maritime pursuits. It must therefore be evident, that a commerce so vastly extended, requires, and should receive from the hands of our government, a positive protection abroad, to succor and relieve in accident from the perils of the ocean, or violence and outrage from the hostility or rapacity of foreigners.

It is equally evident, that in these numerous, various, and ever dangerous voyages, undertaken by our citizens, wherein many lives and property of immense value are embarked, many ships must be and are annually lost, wrecked, or otherwise damaged and distressed — and that their surviving officers and crew must need, and, as far as possible, at the hands of their government should find relief and assistance, adequate to the necessities of their condition ; and every exertion should be made, and means provided to restore the wrecked mariner to his friends and country. There can be no difference of opinion then, as to the desirability of these results. But in order to obtain them, the present consular system must be changed ; as, for obtaining the results desired, it is utterly insufficient and inadequate.

For the accomplishment of the ends desired, my experience and observation impel me to the conclusion, that we should have consuls resident at every important port on the globe, with an

HORATIO SPRAGUE ESO.

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I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I always find time to think of my friends. I hope to hear from you soon. I am always your affectionate friend, and I hope you are the same. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I always find time to think of my friends. I hope to hear from you soon. I am always your affectionate friend, and I hope you are the same.



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official rank, and a salary proportioned to their location and the duties devolving upon them, but in all cases sufficient to secure to each one a respectable maintenance.

In my view of the subject, no *foreigner* should be employed as a consul abroad; nor should the consuls be permitted *to receive or demand fees for their ordinary official services*; nor should they be allowed *to trade as merchants* at the port for which they hold their appointment, — for thereby their whole interest and feeling will be absorbed in the accumulation of wealth; and that too, perhaps, upon the ruin of those whose commercial interest it is their official duty to protect. But, on the other hand, being themselves American citizens, removed from the conflict of private interest with official duty, and regarded as officers of the Government, responsible to the same for misfeasance or nonfeasance in office, and receiving from the treasury a portion of the revenue derived from commerce, with an honorable rank, giving him a respectable standing and influence in the foreign society in which he is placed, and every consul would do his whole duty, infinitely to the advantage of commercial pursuits, and to the material advancement of our general commercial interests as a nation. Then, American citizens engaged in commerce with foreign nations, would be as eager to call upon, as they now are anxious to *avoid*, the commercial representatives of their government in foreign ports; and in case of accident or distress, could count with certainty on receiving from them such disinterested aid, information, or relief, as they might require under the thousand exigencies of maritime pursuits. At present, a feeling far different pervades the minds of our citizens traveling abroad; for now no one is surprised to find in the consul appointed by his own government, either an unprincipled commercial competitor, or a genteel sharper; who, under cover of official charges, or otherwise, will wrench from the traveler all that can be obtained without violence, as that mode of procedure is the principal source of his income; and to

secure that, it is far too common for them to sacrifice their honor and violate their duty to the government whose commission they hold.

During my late voyages to Gibraltar, between the months of July 1831, and February 1832, I could not find our consul there ; though commissioned as "American Consul at Gibraltar," his residence and that of his family was in England ! To allow no sinecure offices, and to require that each public officer and functionary shall earn by personal services or attentions, what he receives from his country, I have always understood to be maxims — cardinal principles — in the administration of our government. Why, then, is Bernard Henry, Esq., permitted still to enjoy the title of "American Consul at Gibraltar," and the emoluments of that office, while he with his family resides, and for some years past has resided, in England ? Why are Americans obliged at this port to surrender their papers to this agent, who is a foreigner ? To pay him the consular fees ? And before him swear to their debentures, and other certificates ? These, and such as these, are the anxious and indignant inquiries of every American trading to, or visiting Gibraltar ; many of whom, during my late voyages to that port, desired me to join them in a remonstrance to Government against Mr. Henry's thus abusing the authority and privileges of his office. In declining to join in the remonstrance I nevertheless agreed to represent the facts to the Government in my own way ; and assured them that I could not doubt but that a remedy would be speedily applied. For myself I have no fault to allege against Mr. Henry, further than attaches to the Consular System itself ; his agents have always been here to receive papers, and ready in *all cases to demand and receive his consular fees for him !*

This gentleman has long been our consul at Gibraltar, and also a merchant, and has become rich and quite independent of business, and it would seem that he might now be allowed to spend

his time and money quietly in "merry England," without subjecting him to the trouble of making a brief visit annually to his far off consulate in order to gather up his fees of office, and then hasten back to England to enjoy the earnings of the American mariner, paid over to him by virtue of his commission from the American Government!

As Gibraltar is a free port, lying at the entrance of the Mediterranean sea, before which all our commerce to and from that important part of the world, as well as our navy, must pass; and where considerable commerce is consequently centred, hundreds of our vessels call there annually, either to trade — for information with regard to other markets — for repairs of damages sustained at sea — for supplies of provisions and stores — on account of stress of weather and adverse winds, nearly all of whose masters or supercargoes would greatly desire a personal interview with our consular representative at this port if one could be found, whose assistance would be prompt, and whose advice would be sincere. Many shipwrecked officers and seamen, also, in distress from the adjacent coasts and ports of Spain and Barbary, are annually carried or find their way to Gibraltar. These unfortunate citizens ought there to find an *American* Consul — an agent of their government, to receive and treat them kindly; one who would sympathise in their afflictions, relieve their distresses, and forward them to their homes with cheerfulness, as a duty, and without the cold grudging of charity.

Whether our consular system is altered or not, from one of fees to one more consistent with our present high national character abroad, all will concede that our consul at the port of Gibraltar should be an American citizen — a constant resident at his official station, and that he should be a feeling, liberal, talented, honorable and independent citizen — a gentleman in every particular. Such a man is HORATIO SPRAGUE, Esq. Permit me, therefore,

in behalf of my countrymen generally, and in behalf of those who are embarked in commercial and maritime pursuits, to solicit for him the appointment of Consul for Gibraltar. (*For myself, I ask nothing.*)

Mr. Sprague is a native of Massachusetts; he has resided at Gibraltar for more than sixteen years, and by all of his countrymen who have ever visited that port, he is well known as a gentleman of wide-reaching benevolence — of high standing in the commercial world — of great moral worth, and general hospitality.

When myself and the crew of the late brig "Commerce," — wrecked on Cape Bajador, in Africa, in August 1815, — were naked and held as slaves among the murdering Arabs on the Great Desert of Saharah, (where my mate of that brig, and four of my crew, if yet alive, still remain in the most cruel bondage,) Mr. Sprague learned the fact of our captivity from Mr. William Willshire, of Mogadore; he instantly despatched a courier by way of Tangier, with two double barrelled guns, as presents to my Arab master, and voluntarily offered to pay whatever ransom might be demanded for the procurement of our liberty. This conduct on his part effected our redemption; and he actually paid from his own purse, our ransom, and all its incidental expenses, up to the time of our arrival at Gibraltar, through Morocco; — while the intervention of an American Consul, so far from being effectual in our behalf, was not heard of, nor even *suspected*! Acts of such pure, active, exalted and disinterested benevolence and virtue, as those that characterized the conduct of Mr. Sprague in relation to myself and that portion of my unfortunate crew that could be brought within the reach of benevolence, entitles any individual to the admiration of all civilized men; and should elicit the favorable notice and particular consideration of the government of his country. I am happy to state that I have found Mr. Sprague still the same noble and generous American;

and altogether such a man as would do honor to his country as a public functionary under its government.

With great regard, and high consideration,

I have the honor to be, your

Devoted, humble servant,

JAMES RILEY."

The foregoing communication, it will be remembered, bears date of March 1832, and of course subsequent to the return of Capt. Riley from Gibraltar, where he met Mr. Sprague as before mentioned; and it afforded Capt. Riley the most lively gratification to learn that his effort in behalf of his friend particularly, and the American Consular System generally, was not without success; for, upon the suggestions contained in Capt. Riley's communication, the name of Mr. Sprague was sent into the Senate by the President, Gen. Jackson, for confirmation to the post of American Consul at Gibraltar; and on the 30th of April, 1832, his appointment was confirmed, as is shown by the following letter to Capt. Riley from Gen. Tipton, then U. S. Senator from Indiana:

"SENATE, 30th April, 1832.

SIR: The appointment of your friend Sprague to be Consul at Gibraltar, has been this moment confirmed by the Senate; but I fear you will not receive his commission before you sail; I wish you could: but I have done all I could for you and him.

Your ob't servant,

JOHN TIPTON.

CAPT. RILEY."

This statement of Capt. Riley has certainly done no more than justice to the worth and amiability of Mr. Sprague; and in that statement is exhibited, in a measure, the heartfelt gratitude of the writer towards his former friend, still unclouded by the lapse

of many years, and residence on a different continent. Capt. Riley, too, had the satisfaction of receiving and carrying out with him Mr. Sprague's commission, as consul at Gibraltar, as intimated in Gen. Tipton's letter.

Capt. Riley remained in Gibraltar about two months after discharging his cargo, and again took freight for New York, for which port he sailed in October 1831, and after a successful, though boisterous passage of about thirty-five days, arrived at New York. During the following winter he made a voyage to the Canaries; and there, having sold his cargo, loaded his brig with two hundred tons of barrilla; and with that cargo sailed again for New York. He arrived off the Hook in February 1832, during a violent 'north-wester,' and finding the passage of the Narrows both difficult and dangerous, he continued on to Newport, Rhode Island; and thence passed down the Long Island Sound to New York.

Having discharged this cargo, he began immediate preparations for another voyage to Europe; with a design also of visiting Mogadore, with the view of once more enjoying the company of his friend and preserver, WM. WILLSHIRE, Esq. Accordingly, his preparations being completed, he sailed from New York on the 4th of May, 1832, and arrived at Gibraltar on the 27th of the same month, making the passage in only 23 days.

During his stay at Gibraltar, in company with his friend, Mr. Sprague, he made an excursion into the neighboring regions of Spain. The following extract from a letter written from Gibraltar by Capt. Riley, upon the return from that excursion, will show the impression which his mind received from this brief visit to that country.

Under date of June 5th, 1832, he says:

"Spain and Portugal are quite healthy regions; it is expected here that the latter will soon be brought into subjection to *Donna*

Maria De Gloria, as her father, Don Pedro, is daily expected on the coast with an invading army. How matters will terminate it is, however, hard to tell. Don Miguel, the king, is a bloody tyrant; a very tiger at heart, whose will is law, and whose chief support is in the priesthood; a race, in these regions, sunk so low in human depravity and deliberate villainy, as to call forth the anathemas of every freeman in the universe. Such is the result of an established church protected by, and in turn giving protection to, governments. Where that system is adopted, and the people submit to its dictation, farewell to liberty of conscience, freedom of speech, and of the press; even the privacy of family intercourse must be under a certain system of espionage, with spies peering about to discover and report every breach of *religious duty*, (as they cantingly call it,) in order to injure or destroy the character and reputation of those whose moral principles lift them above such reptiles, who dare creep about only in disguise, like the scorpion prepared to strike the venomous blow.

In Spain, the earth is now covered with luxuriant vegetation, although the season is exceedingly dry. The people were in the midst of their barley harvest, and we saw hundreds of men reaping down the grain, which, together with the grape, grows most luxuriantly "on the thousand hills" of this region; while the valleys are loaded with the almond, pomegranate, olive, fig, apple, and other fruit trees, such as the orange, lemon, citron, etc.; and here are cultivated the finest of vegetables, and in great abundance. Their beasts of burden are asses and mules; they have but few carts or carriages, and still fewer public highways, and yet fewer fences or hedges: the country is generally lying open; and the herds of sheep and goats, that furnish milk instead of cows, (the latter being very scarce,) are kept by shepherds, as in the patriarchal age of the world. The people live in cities, towns, villages and hamlets; congregating nightly in close and filthy stone or brick cottages, totally devoid of all the comforts

generally found around the American farmer and laborer. The land is owned by the nobility and wealthy men; the cultivators are tenants and renters of some land and a dwelling. They not unfrequently go six, eight, or even ten miles from their dwellings, on foot, to their day's work. Their plows and other agricultural implement are as original, and almost as uncouth, as those I have formerly described in Barbary. The rents, tithes and taxes, consume nearly all their earnings; so that poverty, bigotry, and wretchedness, seem to be entailed on the nation, who, in its former glory, gave to the world the continent of America. Genius of Liberty, arise! Gird on thy strength! Visit this devoted land with thy presence and thy smiles—infuse thy spirit into the hearts of the degraded and priest-ridden descendants of this noble nation—rouse them again to action; then shall they shake off the incubus of this kingly and priestly despotism; form for themselves a representative system of government; divide this land of abundance among its children, and become a free, happy, mighty and magnanimous nation!"

In the same letter, speaking of his contemplated visit to Mogadore, and the prospect of again meeting his deliverer, Mr. Willshire, Capt. Riley uses the following language:

"Our cargo is landed, and we have nearly ballasted the brig, and intend to start for Mogadore in a few days—from four to six—wind permitting. I learn that Mr. Willshire is well, as I have had intelligence of him some three weeks since; and I have sent him an express to prepare a cargo for the brig; I hope soon to be with him. I long to behold again my preserver from captivity; to view the spot where I first enjoyed the thrilling ecstasy of returning to liberty from the horrors of barbarian captivity, and saw before me the probability of again returning to the embraces of a beloved and almost adored family and country. I,

even at this moment, feel the blood rush through my heart with rapture in view of this visit of gratitude."

About the middle of June, having discharged his cargo at Gibraltar and ballasted his brig, Capt. Riley set sail for Mogadore, on the coast of Africa, and arrived there in the latter part of the same month, without any incident of importance on the voyage. His meeting with Mr. Willshire was like the meeting of brothers long separated, and mutually affectionate: and throughout the whole course of Capt. Riley's existence subsequent to his acquaintance with that gentleman, through all the vicissitudes of his eventful life, nothing could disturb the holy keeping with which he guarded the remembrance of the more than brotherly kindness he had received at the hands of Mr. Willshire. Indeed the sentiments of esteem and friendly regard on the part of Mr. Willshire, seemed equally strong and enduring as were the feelings of gratitude and respect on the part of Capt. Riley. This is evident from the expressions of the following beautiful letter, written by Mr. Willshire to a son of Capt. Riley, who, upon Capt. Riley's return from captivity in 1816, was named *William Willshire Riley*.* This letter was written a few days after the arrival of Capt. Riley at Mogadore on the present voyage.

"MOGADORE, 4th August, 1832.

MY DEAR NAMESAKE: In recalling to my recollection the events of the last seventeen years, the day and hour which restored your much esteemed and respected father to liberty, is fresh on my memory. Much as my share of merit has been over valued, (having been only the humble instrument in the hands of the Supreme Being,) yet I must acknowledge that the eventful moment which first made me personally acquainted with your parent, has ever proved a source of the purest pleasure.

* This son, Wm. Willshire Riley, now resides at Columbus, Ohio.

A long series of years has made no abatement in the gratitude your good father has always expressed towards me, and made known to the world by the publication of the narrative of his shipwreck and sufferings: And I assure you, that the mention of my name in such honorable terms, has proved a passport to me wherever I have traveled; and has given me a stimulus to emulate and deserve the character given me — far as I fall short of the description, I have studied to deserve it.

I was delighted when I received, after a lapse of nearly six years since any intelligence from him, a letter from your father, written at Gibraltar. I could scarcely believe it was possible that he had again crossed the ocean, and that he was so near me. I was happy to learn that there was a prospect of our meeting again; but when I received a letter acquainting me with his arrival at Gibraltar, and that he had arranged his affairs to pay me a visit, my joy was so great that I could scarcely communicate the news to my wife and family. Even then, I could hardly believe that after so long a period, I should again have the happiness of embracing him. — But it has all taken place; and Oh! what pleasure!

I observe that time has made very little change in his appearance. It is, however, very different with me. I have since then become a married man, with a young family growing up, and have gray hairs; which are not to be seen in your father.

I have experienced much pleasure in the accounts your father has given me of you and your brothers and sisters, and am pleased with the prospect you have of doing well in the world. Be assured that in every station of life, perseverance, prudence and integrity, are sure to make a man respected by his friends and acquaintances; and I feel convinced that you will follow in the steps of your father, and become a respected and worthy member of the community.

I am sorry that this country affords nothing that I can send

you as a token of remembrance. I however, beg your acceptance of the first ' seal ' I ever possessed ; and with sincere wishes for your health and prosperity, and assurance that it will afford me much pleasure to hear from you, believe me

Your well wisher and friend,

WM. WILLSHIRE.

TO WM. WILLSHIRE RILEY."

At Mogadore, Capt. Riley, in partnership with Mr. Willshire, purchased a cargo of goat skins, gums, wool, and almonds, with which he sailed for New York, where he safely arrived in the fore part of September, 1832. This cargo being disposed of, he again proceeded to take on board passengers and a cargo of stores, with which he sailed from New York in the latter part of October for Madeira, where he arrived on the 15th of November, after a very boisterous passage. At Madeira he sold his cargo for cash, and on the 24th of the same month sailed for the Canaries, where he loaded the brig with barilla, with which he returned to New York early in January of 1833.

In March of 1833, he again loaded the brig for Gibraltar, Algiers and Mogadore. Previous to sailing, however, and while on board his vessel at New York, he addressed the following communication to the Secretary of the Navy, concerning naval stations in the Mediterranean. At that time, in consequence of the success of the arms of France against Algiers, this subject became one of the first magnitude, among commercial men, and occupied the attention of our public functionaries in no inconsiderable degree. Capt. Riley's ample experience in matters appertaining to this subject, united with his accurate personal knowledge of the wants and requirements of our commercial navy in the Mediterranean at that time, gave his opinions much force with those whose attention was then directed to that subject.

Capt. Riley writes thus :

“ON BOARD THE BRIG ‘WM. TELL,’

At New York, February, 1833.

SIR: Having traded with this vessel for some years past, to Gibraltar and other ports in the Mediterranean, and to Morocco, permit me, though personally a stranger, to submit for your consideration, as the head of the Navy Department, some observations with regard to the employment of a portion of our squadron, and in regard to Naval Stations in the Mediterranean.

My only motives in calling your attention to a subject of such interest and importance to the commercial community, are, an ardent desire to see accomplished, as far as practicable, the objects contemplated by the maintainance of a respectable naval force in a region where the *elements of outrage and piracy seem to be ‘bred in the bone’ of the inhabitants*; and to offer views founded on some experience in the commerce of those regions, intended to aid in promoting the general welfare of my country.

These objects (ostensibly at least,) are to overawe the Barbary States; to check depredations, piracies and outrages upon our flag, and protect our citizens in that quarter of the world in conformity with the law of nations; to convoy, when necessary, our unarmed merchantmen, (as now is done in and near the Greek Archipelago,) and to give our naval officers and men the advantages derivable only from constant and active service; as experience alone teaches seamanship, and active service is the only method for ensuring a correct and salutary discipline, particularly on board ships of war.

As an American, I am proud of the glory acquired by our infant navy, and grateful for the salutary lessons which our heroic officers and seamen have taught to the arrogant ‘Mistress of the Ocean’ and other maritime nations; because every commander of our merchant vessels, and indeed every citizen who goes abroad, experiences their beneficial effects all over the globe.

With regard to Naval Stations, I am led to conclude that,

though port Mahon, in Minorca ; Syracuse, in Sicily ; and Toulon, in France, are well selected as naval depots for provisions and stores, and retreats of security in stormy seasons, as well as places for occasional rendezvous for the naval forces ; yet Gibraltar, (which appears to have been totally abandoned by our navy,) and perhaps Malta, offer many and very important advantages as permanent stations for at least one or two ships of war.

The Bay of Gibraltar is spacious and easy of access, containing a free port, at which hundreds of our merchant vessels touch annually, either for purposes of trade—to obtain information with regard to other markets—to procure supplies of provisions and stores—for shelter in tempestuous weather, or to repair damages and losses sustained at sea.

Lying at the mouth of this narrow strait, from thence vessels of war could watch over the movements of the adjacent nations, both in Europe and Africa—convey the earliest intelligence of all breaches of treaties, and hostile or piratical operations, to the commander of the squadron ; and at the same time carry the government despatches and letters to officers of the squadron that arrive almost daily at Gibraltar from the United States ; and could give the government the necessary advices by merchant vessels continually passing outwards. This station would also enable our merchantmen bound to ports in Turkey and the Black Sea, to procure convoy through the Archipelago ; this is of the weightier consideration, as our commercial intercourse with those countries is already considerable, and rapidly becoming more important.

Many of our vessels during the last year, have *solicited and obtained convoy from English and French men-of-war*, in order to ward off attacks from Greek pirates, simply because our own ships could not be found at proper stations. The masters and owners of these ships ask, ‘ Where is the American squadron ? Why, in the time of peace, can we not find it at the *door of the*

Mediterranean, ready to convoy and protect our shipping interest? Why should our merchant vessels be detained, and thus probably lose the object of their voyage, in order to hunt out a convoy, and then be obliged to invoke the aid and protection their security demands, from the flag of a foreign nation? These, and similar observations are continually made, both abroad and at home in our great commercial cities; and I beg to submit them to the consideration and action of the Navy Department.

Most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES RILEY.

Hon. SEC'Y U. S. NAVY,
Washington City."

To this communication, Hon. Levi Woodbury, then in the Navy Department, returned the following reply:

"NAVY DEPARTMENT, February 21st, 1833.

SIR: Your communication has been received and duly considered. I am very much obliged by your suggestions, and shall be happy to adopt some of them the earliest opportunity, so far as the interests of the public service may seem to justify.

I am respectfully, sir,

Your obedient servant,

LEVI WOODBURY.

CAPT. JAMES RILEY,
Brig 'Wm. Tell,' New York."

Although a mariner, and consequently much of his time upon the ocean and in foreign countries, Capt. Riley was not idle nor indifferent to the benevolent enterprises at home. The following communication addressed to the Rev. R. Gurley, on the subject of colonization of the negroes, manifests much zeal and practical

understanding of the objects of that enterprise. It was written on board his vessel, and but a few days before sailing for Africa.

“BRIG ‘WM. TELL,’ New York, March 11, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR: I am now busied in loading this vessel, and intend to sail about the 20th inst. for Gibraltar; thence to Algiers, and to return by the way of Mogadore, in Morocco, in about three or four months. After I last saw you, I called on Gen. Mercer and conversed with him concerning the affairs of the colonization society; suggesting the propriety of exploring the coasts of Africa in order to find, fix upon, and procure by purchase^e if practicable, at least one good and safe harbor, where not only our own ships, carrying out emigrants and trading to that quarter may find safety, and may also give security to the numerous coasting vessels of the colonists, which, under proper management, will soon swarm in those regions. Gen. Mercer coincided with me on this subject, and suggested that government might be applied to for a national vessel to do that duty under the name of a survey of the coast. My opinion, however, is that an exploration, and not a *survey* of the coast, is necessary; and that whenever the society has the means it should be undertaken by its own agents, aided indeed by the U. S. if possible, because the government cannot properly mingle in the affairs of the society, though they might aid and protect the exploring party.

Should Mr. Willis prove (as you believe he will,) an intelligent and enterprising man, his services might be of great importance to the objects of the society; and should consequently be enlisted as strongly as practicable in its concerns.

I am more and more convinced that the colonization of free colored persons offers the best, if not the only means of ridding our country of the great curse of slavery, and the manifold evils incident thereto, in the lack of education of the white population; and at the same time may tend to ward off the horrid alternative

of a servile war ; which, if not prevented by this, or some other means, must at some future time deluge our country in blood — must end in a strife which cannot cease but by the total extermination of one or the other party. For myself, I can say that anything within my power shall be cheerfully done to promote their colonization, and to render their condition in their new home more comfortable.

In the course of my voyages I shall endeavor to procure seed wheat, barley, &c., that grow in northern Africa, where no frost occurs, and indeed any product which will be likely to prove beneficial to the colonists.

I am gratified to learn that another handsome donation has been made to the society ; and my earnest prayer is, that Providence may foster, protect and cherish the efforts now making to ameliorate the condition of our degraded colored population, and avert the dreadful retribution that seems to threaten those who vindicate the right of holding our fellow men in bondage.

Messrs. George Douglass & Co., will attend to any communications from you during my absence ; and should vessels be wanting to transport emigrants, they will lend a helping hand.

Wishing you health, and every blessing,

I remain, sir, your devoted servant,

JAMES RILEY.

REV. R. GURLEY."

Sometime after the date of the foregoing letter Capt. Riley sailed from New York and arrived at Gibraltar by a safe and speedy voyage. He made but a brief stay at Gibraltar, and from thence proceeded to Algiers. He was detained fifteen days at this port on quarantine, and went into port in the fore part of May, 1833.

CHAPTER III.

Algiers, its civil divisions — Rivers — Mountains — Climate — Soil, &c. — Animals — Birds — Reptiles and Insects — Antiquities — The city anterior to the French Conquest — Manufactures — Trade — Inhabitants — Corsairs — Doubtful form of its government — Ignorance of the people — Printing prohibited — Historical Sketch — Conquered by the Romans, Vandals and Saracens — Exterminating wars and country reduced to a desert — Re-peopled by colony of Fezzans — Conquered and annexed to Morocco — Reconquered by the Arabians — Made tributary to Spain — Barbarossa, the pirate, murders Prince Eutemi and is proclaimed King — Cruelty of Barbarossa — His death — Hayradin, his successor — Mole built by 30,000 christian slaves — Hassan Aga appointed bashaw — Ravages coasts of Spain and Italy — Expedition of Charles V. against Algiers — Destruction of his Fleet and Army.

LEAVING our author about to enter the famous city of Algiers, as recorded in the last chapter, we have thought that it would be both useful and entertaining, before resuming the narrative, to give to the reader a condensed history of it, and the country of which it is the political and commercial emporium, as it existed previous to its conquest by France in 1830. This we shall derive mainly from the encyclopædias.

ALGIERES was formerly a kingdom of Africa, and one of the states of Barbary. According to the latest and best computations, it extends 460 miles in length, from east to west, along the Barbary coast, but is very unequal in breadth, some places being scarce forty miles broad, and others upwards of one hundred. It lies between longitude 0 deg. 16 min. and 9 deg. 16 min. west, and extends from latitude 36 deg. 55 min. to 44 deg. 50 min. north. It is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean ; on the east by the river Zaine, the ancient Tusca, which divides it from

Tunis ; on the west by the Milwooia, and the mountains of Trava, which separate it from Morocco and Tafilét ; and on the south by mount Atlas, and the Zahara, or Numidian desert.

DIVISIONS.—This country comprehends the greater part of the Numidia and Mauritania Cæsariensis of the ancients ; so called from the city of Cæsarea, built here by Juba the younger. The present name is derived from the situation of the metropolis, called by the Turks Algezair, Aljezier in Arabic, Al-jezirah, *the island*, alluding to an island which was anciently opposite the city, but is now joined to it by a pier. The modern divisions are Tlemsan or Tremecen, Mascara, Titterie, Algiers Proper, and Constantia ; although Dr. Shaw makes a different arrangement, and unites the provinces of Algiers Proper and Titterie into one district.

Of the above divisions Constantia is the most important, lying along the eastern confines, and once in the possession of Tunis. Of the chief towns of this district, Constantia contains a population of at least 100,000 ; Bona is strongly fortified, and has an excellent harbor ; Bujeya has a larger port than Algiers, though not so safe for shipping ; Gigeri, Zamoura, Tebef, Necanz, and Stessa, are all places of considerable eminence. Cuco and Biscari are regions tributary to this province ; but can scarcely be said to have any settled administration of government ; and in this respect correspond with Labez, a barren rocky region, frequently described as a portion of this province. Algiers Proper contains the capital. Titterie, extending towards the south, presents a surface irregularly broken with mountains, although some fertile plains are stretched around in different directions ; and the towns of Bleeda and Medea contribute much to its improvement. In Mascara or Tlemsan, the western district, are the towns of Tlemsan, Mascara, Oram, Tennis, Mustygannim, Sher-shell, and the port of Mars-al-Quibber ; of which Oran, originally fortified by the Spaniards, and Sher-shell, containing monuments and antique remains, are the most important.

RIVERS.—The chief rivers are the Milwooia, anciently called Malva, the Yesser or Ziz, which divides the province of Mascara; the Zelif or Shellif; the Mina, the Chylematis of Ptolemy; the Belef, the Carthena of the ancients; the Hued-al-quiver or Zinganimir, supposed to be the ancient Nalabata or Nasaba, and the Suf-Gemar, the Ampsaga of Ptolemy; the Haregol, probably the Signa of Ptolemy, flowing from the Great Atlas, through the desert of Anguid, till it falls into the Mediterranean sea near Oran.

MOUNTAINS.—The chief mountains are the Atlas, various branches of which stretch into these provinces from the southern regions, under the names of Lowat and Amnier; the mountains of Trara and Jurjura, extending from the interior toward Algiers; those of Felizia, Gibbell Auress, Anwell, the Mons Auracia of the ancients. Generally speaking, the Great Atlas bounds the states from east to west, and the mountains of Trara from the west towards the kingdom of Morocco.

CLIMATE, SOIL, &c.—The climate of Algiers, except when the hot and violent winds blow from the Great Desert, is in most places so moderate, that they enjoy a constant verdure; the leaves of the trees being neither parched up by heat in summer, nor nipped by the winter's cold. They begin to bud in February; in April the fruit appears in its full bigness, and is commonly ripe in May. The melons have an exquisite taste, and the stems of the vines are so large, that a man can hardly grasp them with his arms; and the bunches of grapes are $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. Scarcely a cloud blots the sky in the summer months; and in September and October the rains begin to fall,—wheat and beans are then sown; the latter rains fall in April, to which succeeds the harvest in May or June. In dressing their corn the Algerines still retain two remarkable customs of the east, viz: treading out the corn by means of horses or cattle; and throwing it up with a shovel or fan against the wind to winnow it. The soil of Algiers is ex-

cessively various ; some places being very fertile in corn, fruits, etc., and others extremely hot, dry, and barren, on which account they are generally suffered to lie uncultivated by the inhabitants, who are very negligent. These barren places, especially such as lie on the southern side, and are at a great distance from the sea, harbor vast numbers of wild creatures, as lions, tigers, buffaloes, wild boars, stags, porcupines, monkeys, ostriches, etc.

ANIMALS.—The horses of this country are very superior, though the breeding of them is not attended to as it is in Arabia. They are extremely active, full of fire, command an interesting appearance, and are exercised to gallop with the reins thrown upon the neck ; and so expert are the riders, that they can stop them at full speed. African horses are seldom seen in any other pace than a gallop ; and are, from their impetuosity, admirably adapted for cavalry chargers. The kumrah, a breed from the ass and the cow ; the ass ; the mule ; the dromedary and camel, are the beasts of burden. The tame cattle are black and slender ; but numerous herds run wild in the southern and eastern parts of the country, distinguished by the inflection of their horns. Of sheep there are two species : that near the desert has an excellent appearance, and reaches almost to the height of a Shetland pony ; but is not remarkable for either its flesh or its wool. A peculiar species of the goat is found in the hilly regions, with tufts of hair on the knee and neck joints. Of wild animals, besides those already mentioned, are leopards, hyænas, panthers, wolves, and a species of the jackal, which pours down into the villages in terrific flocks, and is so furious as to tear up the dead bodies out of the graves.

BIRDS.—Of birds they have a great variety. Quails are seen at the fall of the year crossing the Mediterranean in large flocks like clouds. Starlings, storks, pigeons, and most of the domestic fowls and common birds of Europe are in great plenty. There is a red lark not seen in Italy, which frequently excites the attention

of travelers. Of those birds which are less common, may be enumerated, the karabur, or ash-colored falcon; the sahærag, a species of magpie; the graab, or large crow of the desert, with legs and beak red like the falcon; the houbarry, whose gall is said to be medicinal; and the capsa, a large sparrow with a shining breast and ruddy coat like the lark, who, in melody, is said far to surpass the European nightingale. Ostriches mostly inhabit the desert of Anguid, where they are seen in large flocks, and appear at a distance like troops of robbers. They shed their feathers in the winter, which are collected by the natives to supply the European markets. Assisted by the wind, this bird is capable of outrunning the fleetest horse; but if driven against the wind, is easily taken, the flapping of her wings meeting with less resistance from the surrounding air.

REPTILES AND INSECTS.—The scorpion is, amongst reptiles, the most formidable of those that are common to this region. It is of different colors, and inflicts a virulent wound, of which, though not perhaps in itself dangerous, many persons die annually. Vipers and numerous other serpents are common, and the great boa constrictor lies in the southern provinces. The locusts are a most dreadful scourge to this, and to contiguous kingdoms, from which neither fires, nor trenches, nor all the art and ingenuity of man have, as yet, been able to deliver them. In the months of April and May, these insect armies appear from the south, and spreading themselves over the valleys, begin to deposit their eggs. The young ones appear in June, and ascend in such vast multitudes, as to cover many acres of ground to the depth of several inches. Moving slowly on in quest of food, they destroy every vestige of vegetation, and leave nothing behind them but misery and distress. They have also a terrible kind of fly, which is poisonous to cattle, and particularly tormenting to the horse. A swarm of these insects settling upon a horse, have been known to sting him till he falls through loss of blood.

ANTIQUITIES. — The antiquities of this kingdom are considerable, enriched with ruins, which have hitherto delighted and astonished the world. The mountains of Auress, to the south of Constantina, are a knot of eminences running over one another, with several plains and valleys between them. They are considered the garden of the kingdom, and present a circuit of 130 miles, covered with numerous ruins, of which those of L'Erba, called by the ancients Lambese, are the most remarkable. The magnificent remains of several city gates break upon the sight of the traveler on his approach to this interesting spot. These were four in number, according to the Arabs, from each of which, in case of emergency, the city could rout 40,000 armed men. The frontispiece of a beautiful temple of the Ionic order, and the remains of an amphitheatre, including the seats and upper part almost entire. An elegant mausoleum, erected in the form of a dome, supported by Corinthian columns, with a supposed triumphal arch, and several other eminent antiquities, throw a light on the former magnificence of this ancient city. At Mednascham is a fabric supposed to be the tomb of Syphax and the Numidian princes. Constantina, the ancient Corta, capital of Numidia, forms one of the most interesting parts of the kingdom; and though of inferior extent to the former city, is perhaps second only to Algiers. Some remains of Sigma, at Nedroma, in Constantina province, and of the Pontus Divini of Strabo, are still standing; and at Shershel are the supposed remains of Julia Cæsarea, consisting of wide cisterns, mosaics, broken columns, and curious sites of buildings, amongst which are found numerous medals and other monuments of antiquity.

The city of Algiers, opposite Minorca, and 300 miles west of Tunis, is supposed to be the ancient Iconium, and forms the present capital. It rises, from the acclivity of a hill, in the imposing form of an amphitheatre, and is a mile and a half in circuit, containing nearly 30,000 inhabitants. Its antiquities are

not very important, and of modern buildings, the dey's palace, and the seraglio of his favorite wife are the largest, and are adorned with marble pillars of curious workmanship. There are ten large mosques and fifty of inferior dimensions; the finest of these erections is sixty feet in length, by forty in width, three stories in height, and supported by beautiful pillars. The walls are composed of white stones from the ruins of Ouran, the columns of white marble imported from Genoa. From the scarcity of water in the city, magnificent aqueducts have been erected, which convey water from no fewer than 150 fountains, communicating pipes branching out in all directions towards the different houses. The town consists, for the most part, of one principal street, in the direction of east and west, intersected by a few others of inferior importance. The streets generally are extremely irregular and inconvenient. So narrow are they that two persons can scarcely pass abreast; and when a camel passes, one must stand up close to the wall to avoid being crushed by him. The houses which communicate with each other are flat roofed and lofty, forming a promenade from one end of the town to the other. The inhabitants visit on the top, and spend their evenings in each other's society. The common buildings are of brick and stone, with four chimneys rising in the four corners of the terrace, and those of the more opulent class are adorned with marble columns and ceilings of superior workmanship. The baths and mosques are numerous, and of the former some are set apart for the use of females. Without the city are numerous sepulchres and chapels dedicated to marabouts or reputed saints, which the women yet visit every Friday. The barracks for the Turkish soldiery are spacious and handsome. In the middle of the last century this town was surrounded with a high wall, twelve feet thick, flanked with square towers and a deep ditch. These works have, however, been suffered to decay, a naval rather than a military defence, being the chief dependence of the Algerines. The

mole of the harbor forms a spacious semicircle, a basin 130 fathoms long and eighty wide, affording shelter and protection for ships of the largest burden. It is surrounded by light-houses, and over-looked by a castle, founded on the solid rock. Powerful batteries protect the entrance of the harbor; and along the coast are numerous other batteries, which, since the British expedition, have been put in a better posture of defence. The inhabitants are chiefly Mahomedans, Jews, and Christians. The Turkish soldiers are great tyrants; for they will go to the farm houses in the country for twenty days together, living at free quarters, and making use of every thing. The Algerines eat, as in Turkey, sitting cross-legged round a table about four inches high, and using neither knives nor forks; before they begin, every one says, 'Be isme Allah,' 'In the name of God.' When they have done, a slave pours water on all their hands as they sit, and then they wash their mouths. Their drink is water, sherbet, and coffee. Wine, though prohibited by Mahomet, is drank immoderately by some.

Algiers, though for several ages it has braved some of the greatest powers of Christendom, could make but a faint defence against a regular siege; and it is said that three English fifty gun ships might batter it about the ears of its inhabitants from the harbor. The Spaniards attacked it in the year 1775, both by land and sea, but were repulsed with great loss, though they had near 20,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 47 royal ships of different rates, and 346 transports. In 1783 and 1784, they also renewed their attacks by sea to destroy the city and galleys; but were at length forced to retire without effecting its capture.

The manufactures, consisting chiefly of sashes, handkerchiefs, and carpets, are inferior to those of Turkey. The trade, till within the last twenty years, was entirely in the hands of the French, who kept establishments at Bona, La Cala, and Il Col, partly with a view to the coral fisheries in these quarters. In con-

sequence of the revolution, however, France lost this branch of her commerce ; and Great Britain, in 1806, stipulated with the Dey of Algiers for the possession of the three ports above named. From its situation, it affords an excellent medium for conveying British goods into the interior of Africa. It is said that the corsairs or pirates of Algiers form a small republic, of which the rais or captain is the supreme bashaw ; who, with the officers under him, form a kind of douwan, in which every matter relating to the vessel is decided. The corsairs are chiefly instrumental in importing whatever commodities are brought into the kingdom by way of merchandize or prizes, as gold and silver stuffs, damasks, cloths, spices, tin, iron, plated brass, lead, quicksilver, cordage, sail-cloth, bullets, cochineal, linen, tartar, alum, rice, sugar, soap, cotton, copperas, aloes, Brazil wood, logwood, vermilion. Few commodities, at present, are exported from Algiers. Ostrich feathers, copper, rugs, silk sashes, embroidered handkerchiefs, dates, etc., are the most remarkable.

The inland inhabitants, distinguished by the name of Berebers, are the proper natives of the country, supposed to have been descended from the ancient Sabeans, who plundered the patriarch Job ; and still retaining their original character of robbers and pirates, removed from Arabia Felix and settled at Algiers.

Others believe them to be descended from the Canaanites, who were driven out of Palestine by Joshua. They are dispersed all over Barbary, and divided into a multitude of tribes under their respective chiefs ; most of them inhabit the mountainous parts ; some range from place to place and live in tents or portable huts ; others in scattered villages : in which situation they have generally kept from intermixing with other nations. The Berebers are reckoned the richest of all the Algerines, go better clothed, and carry on a much larger traffic in cattle, hides, wax, honey, iron, and other commodities. They have also some artificers in iron, and some manufacturers in the weaving branch. The name,

Bereber, is supposed to have been originally given them on account of their being first settled in some desert place. Upon their increasing, in process of time they divided themselves into five tribes, probably on account of religious differences, called Zinhagians, Muscamedins, Zeneti, Hoares, and Gomeres; and these having produced 600 families, subdivided themselves into a great number of petty tribes. To these we may add the Zwowahs, by European authors called Azuagues, or Assagues, who are likewise dispersed over the greater part of Barbary and Numidia. Great numbers of these inhabit the mountainous parts of Cuco, Labez, etc., leading a wandering, pastoral life. But the most numerous inhabitants have long been Moors and Arabians. The former are very stout and warlike, and skillful horsemen; but so addicted to robbing, that one cannot safely travel along the country at a distance from the towns without a guard, or at least a marabout or saint for a safeguard. The inhabitants, in general, have a pretty fair complexion; they are robust and well proportioned. People of distinction wear their beards; they have rich clothes made of silk, embroidered with flowers of gold, and turbans enriched with jewels. The Turks, who compose the military force, have great privileges, pay no taxes, are never publicly punished, and rarely in private. The lowest soldier domineers over the most distinguished Moors at pleasure. If he finds them better mounted than himself, he exchanges horses without ceremony. The Turks alone have the privilege of carrying firearms. Some good qualities, however, distinguish them, in spite of this excess of despotism. They never game for money, nor even for trifles; and they never profane the name of the deity. They soon forget their private quarrels; and, after the first paroxysm of resentment is over, it is infamy for a Turk to keep in remembrance the injuries he has received. In this respect certainly they are less barbarous than some other nations that boast of their civilization.

The government of Algiers, although it has been styled a republic, is neither republican nor despotic, but a sort of oligarchy, or at least approximating to that model. According to some writers, it is difficult to ascertain what it is, whether a vile oligarchy, an aristocratical commonwealth, or a lax, tumultuous, ill-regulated despotism. Almost every dey that succeeds to the throne, paves the way by the murder of both his predecessor and rival competitors, and is himself at last strangled or otherwise despatched, at the pleasure of a more powerful rival. To the imperfection of its government, may be in a great measure attributed the many miseries of this unhappy kingdom.

The population consists chiefly of Moors and Turks, who, though not more than 7000 in number, keep the government in their own hands exclusively. The most enlightened of the people are the Cologlis, or the children of the Turks by the Moorish women. The Moors are divided into two kinds, the Kabylas or mountain tribes, and the Berebers, the mechanics of the country. The Arabian tribes keep themselves totally distinct, and are employed in commerce.

The *cadi* is the ecclesiastical judge, besides whom there is a superior religious officer, called *mufti*, or high-priest; and an inferior one, called the *grand marabout*. To these officers lies the supreme appeal in all religious concerns. The people are generally ignorant; yet so jealous are the higher ranks of their authority, that printing, according to M. Pantani, has been prohibited, lest there should be too much knowledge in the nation. The only instruction consists in teaching boys to read and repeat fifty or sixty aphorisms from the Koran. The *Alfagni*, or learned men, are jugglers.

The Algerine kingdom made formerly a considerable part of the Mauritania Tingitana, which was reduced to a Roman province by Julius Cæsar, and from him also called Mauritania Cæsariensis. After the Romans had been driven out of Africa by the

Vandals, and the latter by the Saracens, about the middle of the seventh century, the Arabs continued masters of the country, divided into petty kingdoms under chiefs of their own choosing, till the year 1051, when Albubeker ben Omar, or, as the Spanish authors call him, Abu Texefien, provoked at the tyranny of those despots, gathered, by the help of his marabouts, or saints, a powerful army of malcontents, in Numidia and Libya. His followers were named Morabites; by the Spaniards, Almoravides, probably from their being assembled principally by the Mahomedan saints, so called. The khalif of Kayem's forces were at this time taken up in quelling revolts in Syria, Mesopotamia, etc., and the Arabs in Spain engaged in the most bloody wars; so that Texefien, having nothing to fear from them, had all the success he could wish against the Arabian cheyks, whom he repeatedly defeated, and at last drove out of Numidia, Libya, and all the western parts, reducing the whole province of Tingitania under his dominion. He was succeeded by his son Yusef, or Joseph, who laid the foundation of Morocco, which he designed for the capital of his empire. While that city was building, he sent ambassadors to Tremecen, at that time inhabited by a powerful sect of Mahomedans called Zeneti, proposing to bring them back to what he called the true faith; but the Zeneti, despising his offers, murdered his ambassadors, and invaded his dominions with an army of 50,000 men; whereupon he immediately led his army into their country, destroying all before him with fire and sword; while the Zeneti, instead of opposing his progress, retired as fast as possible towards Fez, in hopes of assistance. But in this they were miserably deceived, for the Fezzans coming up with the unhappy Zeneti, encumbered with their families and baggage, and ready to expire with hunger and weariness, cut them all to pieces, except a small number who were either drowned in attempting to swim across a river, or perished by falling from the adjacent rocks. Meantime, Joseph reduced their country to a

mere desert ; but it was soon repeopled by a numerous colony of Fezzans, who settled there.

In this war it is computed that near a million of the Zeneti men, women and children, lost their lives. Notwithstanding the assistance Joseph had thus received from the Fezzans, he declared war against them, reduced them to become his tributaries, and extended his conquest all along the Mediterranean. He next attacked those Arabian cheyks who had not yet submitted, taking many castles and fortresses, till then deemed impregnable ; and at last completely subdued them.

Thus was founded the empire of the Morabites, which, however, was of no long duration ; that race being in the twelfth century driven out by Mohavedin, a marabout. This race of priests was expelled by Abduiac, governor of Fez ; and he, in the thirteenth century was stripped of his conquests by the Sharifs of Hascen, the descendants of those Arabian princes whom the Aubu-Texefien had formerly expelled. The better to secure their new dominions, the Sharifs divided them into several little kingdoms or provinces ; and among these the present kingdom of Algiers was divided into four, viz : Tremecen, Tenez, Algiers Proper, and Bujeyah. The four first monarchs laid so good a foundation for a lasting balance of power between their little kingdoms, that they continued for some centuries in mutual amity ; but at length the king of Tremecen having ventured to violate some of their articles, Abul Farez, king of Tenes, declared war against him, and obliged him to become his tributary. This king dying soon after, and having divided his kingdom among his three sons, new discords arose ; which Spain taking advantage of, sent a powerful fleet and army against Barbary, in 1505, under the count of Navarre, who took Oram, Bujeyah, and some other important places ; which so alarmed the Algerines, that they put themselves under the protection of Selim Eutemi, an Arabian prince. He came to their assistance with a great number of his bravest sub-

jects, but was not able to prevent the Spaniards from landing a number of forces near Algiers, and making the Algerines tributary to Spain; or from building a strong fort on a small island opposite to the city, which terrified their corsairs from sailing either in or out of the harbor.

They continued under this yoke until 1516; when, hearing of the death of Ferdinand, king of Spain, they sent to Aruch Barbarossa, who was at this time no less dreaded for his valor than for his surprising success, requesting him to join his forces with those of Selim Eutemi, and free them from the Spanish yoke; offering him a gratuity answerable to so great a service.

Aruch Barbarossa, and his brother Hayradin, were famous corsairs, the sons of a potter in the isle of Lesbos; who being of a restless and enterprising spirit, left their father's employment, and joined a crew of pirates. They soon distinguished themselves by their zeal and activity, and, becoming masters of a small brigantine, they carried on their depredations with such success and conduct, that they were soon possessed of twelve galleys, besides smaller vessels. Of this fleet Aruch, the elder brother, was admiral, and Hayradin the second in command; they called themselves the friends of the sea, and the enemies of all who sailed upon it; and their names became terrible, from the straits of the Dardanelles to those of Gibraltar. With such a power they wanted an establishment; and the opportunity of settling themselves offered by the inconsiderate application of Eutemi.

The active corsair gladly accepted the invitation, and leaving his brother Hayradin with the fleet, marched at the head of five thousand men to Algiers, where he was received as their deliverer. Such a force gave him the command of the town; and observing that the Moors neither suspected him of any bad intentions, nor were capable, with their light-armed troops, of opposing his disciplined veterans, he secretly murdered the monarch he came to assist, and caused himself to be proclaimed king in his stead.

The authority thus boldly usurped, he endeavored to establish by arts suited to the genius of the people he had to govern ; by liberality without bounds to those who favored his promotion ; and by cruelty no less unbounded, towards all whom he had any reason to distrust. The Arabians, alarmed at his success, implored the assistance of Hamidel Abdes, king of Tunis, to drive the Turks out of Algiers. That prince readily undertook to do what was in his power for this purpose, and, upon their agreeing to settle the kingdom on himself and his descendants, set out at the head of ten thousand Moors. Upon his entering the Algerine dominions, he was joined by all the Arabians in the country.—Barbarossa engaged him, with only one thousand Turkish musqueteers and five hundred Granada Moors ; totally defeated his numerous army ; pursued him to the very gates of his capital, which he easily made himself master of ; and, having given it up to be plundered by his Turks, obliged the inhabitants to acknowledge him sovereign.

This victory, (which was chiefly owing to his fire-arms,) was followed by an embassy from the inhabitants of Tremecen, inviting him to come to their assistance against their prince, with whom they were dissatisfied on account of his having dethroned his nephew, and offering him even the sovereignty, in case he accepted of their proposal. The king of Tremecen, not suspecting the treachery of his subjects, met the tyrant with an army of six thousand horse and three thousand foot ; but Barbarossa's artillery gave him such an advantage, that the king was at length forced to retire into the capital ; which he had no sooner entered, than his head was cut off, and sent to Barbarossa, with a fresh invitation to take possession of the kingdom. On his approach he was met by the inhabitants, whom he received with great complaisance, and many fair promises ; but beginning to tyrannise as usual, his new subjects soon convinced him that they were not so passive as the inhabitants of Algiers. He therefore entered into

an alliance with the king of Fez ; after which he secured the rest of the cities in his new kingdom, by garrisoning them with his own troops. Some of these, however, revolted soon after ; upon which he sent one of his corsairs, named Escander, a man no less cruel than himself, to reduce them. The Tremecenians now began to repent of their having invited such a tyrant to their assistance ; and consulted how to bring back their lawful prince, Abuchen-Men : but their cabals being discovered, a great number of the conspirators were massacred in the most cruel manner. The prince escaped to Oran, and was taken under the protection of the marquis of Gomarez, who sent immediate advice of it to Charles V., then lately arrived in Spain with a powerful fleet and army. That monarch immediately ordered the young king a succor of ten thousand men, under the command of the governor of Oran ; who, under the guidance of Abuchen-Men, began his march towards Tremecen ; and in their way were joined by prince Selim, with a great number of Arabs and Moors. The first thing they resolved upon was to attack the important fortress of Calau, situated between Tremecen and Algiers, and commanded by Escander, at the head of about three hundred Turks. They invested it closely, in hopes that Barbarossa would come out of Tremecen to its relief, which would give the Tremecenians an opportunity of keeping him out. That tyrant, however, kept close in his capital, being embarrassed by his fears of a revolt, and the delays of the king of Fez, who had not sent the auxiliaries he promised. The garrison of Calau, in the meantime, made a brave defence ; and, in a sally, cut off near three hundred Spaniards. This encouraged them to venture a second time ; but they were now repulsed with a great loss, and Escander himself wounded : soon after which, they surrendered, but were all massacred by the Arabians, except sixteen, who clung close to the stirrups of the king, and of the Spanish general.

Barbarossa being now informed that Abuchen-Men, with his

Arabs, accompanied by the Spaniards, were in full march to lay siege to Tremecen, came out at the head of fifteen hundred Turks, and five thousand Moorish horse, in order to break his way through the enemy ; but he had not proceeded far, before his council advised him to return and fortify himself. This advice was now too late ; the inhabitants being resolved to keep him out, and open their gates to their own lawful prince as soon as he appeared. In this distress Barbarossa saw no way left but to retire to the citadel, and there defend himself till he could find an opportunity of stealing out with his men and all his treasure ; but, his provisions failing, he took advantage of a subterraneous back way, and, taking his immense treasure with him, stole away as secretly as he could. His flight, however, was soon discovered ; and he was so closely pursued, that to amuse, as he hoped, the enemy, he caused a great deal of his money, plate, jewels, etc., to be scattered all the way, thinking they would not fail to stop their pursuit to gather it up.

This stratagem, however, failed, through the vigilance of the Spanish commander, who being at the head of the pursuers, obliged them to march on, till he was come up close to him on the banks of the Huexda, about eight leagues from Tremecen. Barbarossa had just crossed the river with his vanguard, when the Spaniards came up with his rear on the other side, and cut them all off ; and then crossing the water, overtook him at a small distance from it. Here a bloody engagement ensued, in which the Turks fought like lions ; but being at length overpowered by numbers, they were all cut to pieces, and Barbarossa among the rest, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and four years after he had raised himself to the royal title of Jigel of the adjacent country ; two years after he had accomplished the reduction of Tremecen. His head was carried to Tremecen, on the point of a spear ; and Abuchen-Men proclaimed king, to the joy of all the inhabitants.

Although the news of Barbarossa's death spread the utmost consternation among the Turks at Algiers, they nevertheless proclaimed his brother Hayradin king; and the Spanish commander having sent back the emperor's forces, without making any attempt upon Algiers, he lost the opportunity of driving the Turks out of that country; while Hayradin, justly dreading the consequences of the tyranny of his officers, sought the protection of the grand seignior. This was readily granted, and himself appointed bashaw or viceroy of Algiers; by which means he received such reinforcements, that the Algerines durst not make the least complaint; and such numbers of Turks resorted to him, that he became not only capable of keeping the Moors and Arabs in subjection at home, but of annoying the Christians at sea. His first step was to take the Spanish fort of Calan, which was a great nuisance to his metropolis; and though the Spaniards held out to the last extremity, he soon became master of it. He next set about building a strong mole for the safety of his ships. In this he employed 30,000 Christian slaves, whom he obliged to work without intermission for three years, in which time the work was completed. He then caused the fort he had taken to be repaired, and placed a strong garrison in it, to prevent any foreign vessels from entering the harbor without giving an account of themselves. By these two important works, Hayradin soon became dreaded not only by the Arabs and Moors, but also by the maritime christian powers, especially the Spaniards. The grand seignior having sent him a fresh supply of money, he was enabled to erect batteries on all places that might favor the landing of an enemy. All these have since received greater improvements from time to time, as often as there was occasion. Meantime the Sultan, either from a sense of the great services Hayradin had done, or out of jealousy lest he should make himself independent, raised Hayradin to the dignity of bashaw of the empire, and appointed Hassan Aga, a Sardinian renegado, and an experienced officer, to succeed

him as bashaw of Algiers. Hassan had no sooner taken possession of his new government, than he began to pursue his ravages on the Spanish coast with greater fury than ever ; extending them to the ecclesiastical state, and other parts of Italy ; whereupon Pope Paul III. exhorted the emperor Charles V. to send a powerful fleet to suppress those cruel piracies ; and, that nothing might be wanting to render the enterprise successful, a bull was published, wherein a plenary absolution of sins, and the crown of martyrdom, were promised to all who should either fall in battle or be made slaves. The emperor on his part needed no spur ; and therefore set sail with a fleet of 120 ships and 20 galleys, having on board 30,000 chosen troops, and an immense quantity of money, arms, ammunition, etc. In this expedition many young nobility and gentry attended as volunteers, and many knights of Malta, so remarkable for their valor against the enemies of Christianity. Even ladies of birth and character attended Charles in his expedition, and the wives and daughters of the officers and soldiers followed them, with a design to settle in Barbary after the conquest was finished. The Algerines were greatly alarmed by this prodigious armament. The city was defended only by a wall, with scarce any outworks. The whole garrison consisted of 800 Turks and 6000 Moors, without fire arms, and poorly disciplined and accoutred ; the rest of their forces being dispersed in the other provinces of the kingdom, to levy the usual tribute on the Arabs and Moors.

The Spaniards landed without opposition, and immediately built a fort, under the cannon of which they encamped, and diverted the course of a spring which supplied the city with water. Being now reduced to the utmost distress, Hassan was on the point of surrendering, when advice was brought him that the forces belonging to the western government were in full march towards the place ; upon which it was resolved to defend it to the utmost. Charles, in the mean time, resolving upon a general assault, kept

a constant firing upon the town ; which, from the weak defence made by the garrison, he looked upon as already his own. But while the douwan or Algerine senate, were deliberating on the most proper means of obtaining an honorable capitulation, a mad prophet, named Yusef, attended by a multitude of people, entered the assembly, and foretold the speedy destruction of the Spaniards before the end of the moon, exhorting the inhabitants to hold out till that time.

This prediction was soon accomplished in a very surprising and unexpected manner : for, on the 28th of October, 1541, a dreadful storm of wind, rain, and hail, arose from the north, accompanied with violent shocks of earthquakes, and an universal darkness, so that the elements seemed to combine together for the destruction of the Spaniards. In that night, some say in less than half an hour, eighty-six ships and fifteen galleys were destroyed, with all their crews and military stores ; by which the army on shore was deprived of all means of subsisting in these parts. Their camp also, which spread itself along the plain under the fort, was laid quite under water by the torrents which descended from the neighboring hills. Many of the troops, trying to remove into some better situation, were cut in pieces by the Moors and Arabs ; while several galleys, and other vessels, endeavoring to gain some neighboring creeks along the coasts, were immediately plundered, and their crews massacred by the inhabitants.

Next morning Charles beheld the sea covered with the fragments of so many ships, and the bodies of men, horses, and other creatures, swimming on the waves ; at which he was so disheartened, that abandoning his tents, artillery, and all his heavy baggage to the enemy, he marched at the head of his army, though in no small disorder, towards cape Malabux, in order to re-imbark in those few vessels which had outweathered the storm. But Hassan, who watched his motions, allowed him just time to

get to the shore, when he attacked the Spaniards in the midst of their hurry to get into their ships, killing great numbers, and bringing away a still greater number of captives; after which he returned in triumph to Algiers, where he celebrated his happy deliverance with great rejoicings.

In this unfortunate expedition upwards of 120 ships and galleys were lost, above 300 land and sea officers, 8000 soldiers and marines, besides those destroyed by the enemy on the re-imbarkation, or drowned in the last storm. The number of prisoners was so great, that the Algerines sold some of them, by way of contempt, for an onion per head. Charles himself escaped with difficulty to Tunis, with his few remaining followers. Hassan afterwards made his ally the king of Tremecen tributary, and returning to Algiers laden with riches, soon after died of a fever, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

CHAPTER IV.

Events in sixteenth century — Revolution — Expedition against them by European governments — City bombarded by the French in 1683 — Destroyed — Events in eighteenth century — Combined attack of English and Dutch fleet in 1816 — Treaty — Their government — Horrible punishments — Recapitulation — Algiers becomes a dependency of France.

AFTER the death of Hassan, Haji became king, and the Spaniards afterwards were never able to annoy the Algerines in any considerable degree. In 1555 they lost the city of Bujeyah, which was taken by Selha-Rais, Hassan's successor, who dying soon after of the plague, the Algerine soldiers chose a Corsican renegado, Hassan Corso, in his room, till they should receive farther orders from the Porte. He did not accept of the bashawship without a good deal of difficulty; and he had hardly enjoyed his dignity four months, before news came that eight galleys were bringing a new bashaw to succeed him; one Tekelli, a principal Turk of the grand seignior's court; upon which the Algerines unanimously resolved not to admit him. By the treachery of the Levantine soldiers, however, he was admitted at last, and the unfortunate Corso thrown over a wall in which a number of iron hooks were fixed; one of which catching the ribs of his right side, he hung three days in the most exquisite torture before he expired. Tekelli was no sooner entered upon his new government, than he behaved with such cruelty and rapacity, that he was assassinated even under the dome of a saint, by Yusef Calabres, the favorite renegado of Hassan Corso; who, for this service, was unanimously chosen bashaw, but died of the plague six days after

his election. Yusef was succeeded by Hassan, the son of Hayradin, who had formerly been recalled from his bashawship, when he was succeeded by Selha-Rais: and now had the good fortune to get himself reinstated in his employment. Next year the Spaniards undertook an expedition against Mostagan, under the command of the Count d'Alcandela; but were defeated, their commander killed, and 12,000 taken prisoners. Hassan having disoblged his subjects by allowing the mountaineers of Cuco to buy ammunition at Algiers, was sent in irons to Constantinople, while the aga of the Janisaries supplied his place. Hassan found means to clear himself: but a new bashaw was appointed, called Achmet; who was no sooner arrived, than he sent the two deputy bashaws to Constantinople, where their heads were struck off. Achmet was a man of insatiable avarice, and had bought his dignity by the money he had amassed while head gardener to the Sultan. He enjoyed it, however, only four months; and after his death, the state was governed other four months by his lieutenant; when Hassan was a third time sent viceroy to Algiers, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

The first enterprise in which Hassan engaged, was the siege of Marsalquiver, near Oran. His army consisted of 26,000 foot and 10,000 horse; and his fleet of thirty-two galleys and galliots, together with three French vessels laden with provisions. The city was defended by Don Martin de Cordova, brother of the Count d'Alcandela, who had been taken prisoner in the battle where that nobleman was killed, but had obtained his liberty from the Algerines with immense sums, and now made a most gallant defence against the Turks. The city was attacked with the utmost fury by sea and land, so that several breaches were made in the walls. The Turkish standards were several times planted on the walls, and as often dislodged; but the place must have in the end submitted, had not Hassan been obliged to raise the siege, on hearing that the famed Genoese admiral, Doria, was approaching

with succors from Italy. The fleet accordingly arrived soon after ; but missing the Algerine galleys, bore away for Pennon de Velez, where they were shamefully repulsed by a few Turks who garrisoned that place ; which, however, was taken the following year. In 1567 Hassan was again recalled to Constantinople, where he died three years after. He was succeeded by Mahomet, who gained the love of the Algerines by several public spirited actions. He incorporated the Janissaries and Levantine Turks together, and by that means put an end to their dissensions, which laid the foundation of the Algerine independency on the Porte. He likewise added some considerable fortifications to the city and castle, which he designed to render impregnable. But while he was thus studying the interest of Algiers, one John Gascon, a bold Spanish adventurer, formed a design of burning the whole piratic navy in the bay ; but this plan, though patronized by king Philip II. proved abortive, owing to the dampness or improper mixture of the fire works ; and Gascon himself, being taken prisoner, was barbarously slain by the Algerines. Mahomet, being soon after recalled, was succeeded by the famous renegado Ochali, who reduced the kingdom of Tunis ; which, however, remained subject to the viceroy of Algiers only till the year 1586, when a bashaw of Tunis was appointed by the Porte. In 1585, under Memi Arnaud, an Albanian, we first find the Algerines passing the Straits of Gibraltar, and extending their depredations as far as the Canary Islands, where they made a descent, carried off 300 persons (including the governor's family,) with great plunder, but admitted some of the principal ladies to ransom. Early in the seventeenth century the government of the Algerines underwent considerable revolution.

Algiers, till the beginning of the seventeenth century, continued to be governed by viceroys appointed by the Porte ; concerning whom we find nothing very remarkable, further than that their avarice and tyranny was intolerable both to the Algerines

and the Turks. At last the Turkish Janissaries and militia becoming powerful enough to suppress the tyrannic sway of these bashaws, and the people being almost exhausted by the heavy taxes laid upon them, the former resolved to depose those petty tyrants, and set up some officers of their own at the head of the realm. The better to succeed in this attempt, the militia sent a deputation of some of their chief members to the Porte, to complain of the oppression of these bashaws, who sunk both the revenue of the state, and the money remitted to it from Constantinople, into their own coffers, which should have been employed in keeping up and paying the soldiery; by which means they were in continual danger of being overpowered by the Arabians and Moors, who, if ever so little assisted by any Christian power, would hardly fail of driving all the Turks out of the kingdom. They represented to the grand vizier how much more honorable, as well as easier and cheaper, it would be for the grand seignior to permit them to choose their own dey, or governor, from among themselves, whose interest it would then be to see that the revenue of the kingdom was rightly applied in keeping up its forces complete, and in supplying all other exigencies of the state, without any farther charge or trouble to the Porte than that of allowing them its protection. On their part, they engaged always to acknowledge the grand seigniors as their sovereigns, and to pay their usual allegiance and tribute, to respect their bashaws, and even to lodge and maintain them and their retinue, in a manner suitable to their dignity, at their own charge. The bashaws, however, were for the future to be excluded from assisting at any but general douwans, unless invited; and from having the liberty of voting in them, unless when their advice was asked, or the interest of the Porte was likely to suffer by their silence. All other concerns, which related to the government of Algiers, were to be wholly left under the direction of the dey and his douwan. These proposals having been accepted by the Porte, the deputies

returned highly satisfied ; and having notified their new privileges, the great douwan immediately proceeded to the election of a dey from among themselves. They compiled a new set of laws, and made several regulations for the better support and maintenance of this new form of government, to the observation of which they obliged all their subjects to swear ; and the militia, navy, commerce, etc., were all settled pretty nearly on the footing upon which they now are ; though the altercations which happened between the bashaws and deys, the one attempting to recover their former power, and the other to curtail it, caused such frequent complaints at the Ottoman court, as made them often repent their compliance.

In 1601, the Spaniards, under Doria, the Genoese admiral, made another attempt upon Algiers, in which they were more fortunate than usual, their fleet being only driven back by contrary winds, so that they came off without loss. In 1609, the Moors being expelled from Spain, flocked in great numbers to Algiers ; and as many of them were very able sailors, they undoubtedly contributed to make the Algerine fleet so formidable as it became soon after. In 1616 it consisted of forty sail, of between 200 and 400 tons, their admiral 500 tons. It was divided into two squadrons, one of eighteen sail, before the port of Malaga ; and the other at the Cape of Santa Maria, between Lisbon and Seville ; both of which fell foul on all Christian ships, both English and French, with whom they pretended to be in friendship, as well as Spaniards and Portuguese, with whom they were at war. The Algerines were now become very formidable to the European powers. The Spaniards, who were most in danger, and least able to cope with them, solicited the assistance of England, Rome, and other states. The French, however, were the first who dared to show their resentment of the perfidious behavior of these miscreants ; and in 1617 M. Beaulieu was sent against them with a fleet of fifty men of war, who defeated their

fleet, took two of their vessels, while their admiral sunk his own ship and crew, rather than fall into his hands.

In 1690, a squadron of English men of war was sent against Algiers, under Sir Robert Mansel ; but it returned without doing any thing ; and the Algerines, becoming more and more insolent, openly defied all the European powers, the Dutch only excepted ; to whom, in 1625, they sent a proposal, directed to the prince of Orange, that in case they would fit out twenty sail of ships the following year, upon any good service against the Spaniards, they would join them with sixty sail of their own. Next year, the Coulolies, or Cologlies, the children of such Turks as had been permitted to marry at Algiers, who were enrolled in the militia, having seized on the citadel, had well nigh made themselves masters of the city ; but were attacked by the Turks and renegadoes, who defeated them with terrible slaughter. Many of them were executed ; and their heads thrown in heaps upon the city walls, without the eastern gate. Part of the citadel was blown up ; and the remaining Coulolies were dismissed from the militia, to which they were not again admitted till long after.

Amurath IV., in 1623, having made a truce for twenty-five years, with the emperor Ferdinand II., the Algerines and other states of Barbary threw off their dependence on the Porte altogether, and set up for themselves ; and resolved, that whoever desired to be at peace with them must apply to their government. They accordingly began to make prizes of several merchant ships belonging to powers at peace with the Porte ; and having seized a Dutch ship and poleacre, at Scanderoon, they ventured on shore, and finding the town abandoned by the Turkish aga and inhabitants, they plundered all the magazines and warehouses, and set them on fire.

About this time Louis XIII. undertook to build a fort on their coast, instead of one formerly built by the Marsilians, and which they had demolished. This, after some difficulty, he accomplish-

ed ; and it was called the Bastion of France : but the situation being afterwards found inconvenient, the French purchased the port of La Calle, and obtained liberty to trade with the Arabians and Moors. The Ottoman court, in the meantime, was so much embarrassed with the Persian war, that there was no leisure to check the Algerine pirates. This gave an opportunity to the vizier and other courtiers to compound matters with the Algerines, and to get a share of their prizes, which were very considerable. However, for form's sake, a severe reprimand, accompanied with threats, was sent them ; to which they replied, that " these depredations deserved to be indulged to them, seeing they were the only bulwark against the Christian powers, especially against the Spaniards, the sworn enemies of the Moslem name : " adding, that " if they should pay a punctilious regard to all that could purchase peace, or liberty to trade with the Ottoman empire, they would have nothing to do but set fire to all their shipping, and turn camel-drivers for a livelihood. "

The Algerines continued to prosecute their piracies with impunity, to the terror and disgrace of the Europeans, till the year 1652 ; when a French fleet being accidentally driven to Algiers, the admiral took it into his head to demand a release of all the captives of his nation, without exception. This being refused, the Frenchman without ceremony carried off the Turkish viceroy, and his cadî or judge, who were just arrived from the Porte, with all their equipage and retinue. The Algerines, by way of reprisal, surprised the bastion of France already mentioned, and carried off the inhabitants to the number of 600, with all their effects ; which so provoked the admiral, that he sent them word, he would pay them another visit next year with his whole fleet. The Algerines, undismayed by his threats, fitted out a fleet of sixteen galleys and galliots, excellently manned and equipped, under the command of admiral Hali Pinchinin. The chief design of this armament was against the treasures of Loretto ; which, however, they were pre-

vented by contrary winds from obtaining. Upon this they made a descent on Naples, where they ravaged the whole territory of Nicotera, carrying off a vast number of captives, and among them some nuns. From thence steering towards Dalmatia, they scoured the Adriatic; and loading themselves with immense plunder, left those coasts in the utmost consternation.

At last the Venetians, alarmed at such terrible depredations, equipped a fleet of twenty-eight sail, under the command of admiral Capello, with express orders to burn, sink, or take, all the Barbary corsairs he met with, either on the open seas, or even in the grand seignior's harbors, pursuant to a late treaty of peace with the Porte. The captain bashaw, who had been sent out with the Turkish fleet, to chase the Florentine and Maltese cruisers out of the Archipelago, understanding that the Algerine squadron was so near, sent orders to the admiral to come to his assistance. Pinchinin readily agreed: but having resolved on a descent upon the island of Lissa, belonging to the Venetians, he was overtaken by Capello, from whom he retired to Valona, a sea-port belonging to the grand seignior, whither the Venetian admiral pursued him; but the Turkish governor refusing to eject the pirates according to the articles of the peace between the Ottoman court and Venice, Capello was obliged to content himself with watching them for some time. Pinchinin at last ventured out, when an engagement immediately ensued, in which the Algerines were defeated, and five of their vessels disabled, with the loss of 1500 men, Turks and Christian slaves; besides 1600 galley slaves, who regained their liberty. Pinchinin, after this defeat, returned to Valona, where he was again watched by Capello; but the latter had not lain long at his old anchorage, before he received a letter from the senate, desiring him to make no farther attempt on the pirates at that time, for fear of a rupture with the Porte. This was followed by a letter from the governor of Valona, desiring him to take care lest he incurred the sultan's displeasure by such insults.

The brave Venetian was forced to comply ; but, resolving to take such a leave of the Algerines as he thought they deserved, observed how they had reared their tents, and drawn their booty and equipage along the shore. He then kept firing among their tents, while some well manned galliots and brigantines were ordered among their shipping, who attacked them with such bravery, that, without any great loss, they towed out their sixteen galleys, with all their cannon, stores, etc. In this last engagement, a ball from one of the Venetian galleys happening to strike a Turkish mosque, the whole action was considered as an insult upon the grand seignior. To conceal this, Capello was ordered to sink all the Algerine ships he had taken, except the Admiral ; which was to be conducted to Venice, and laid up as a trophy. Capello came off with a severe reprimand ; but the Venetians were obliged to buy, with 500,000 ducats, a peace from the Porte. The grand seignior offered to repair the loss of the Algerines by building ten galleys for them, upon condition that they should continue in his service till the end of the ensuing summer ; but Pinchinin, who knew how little the Algerines chose to lie under obligations to him, civilly declined the offer.

Meantime, the news of this defeat filled Algiers with the utmost confusion. The whole city was on the point of a general insurrection, when the bashaw and douwan issued a proclamation, not only forbidding all complaints under the severest penalties, but all persons whomsoever, to take their thumbs from within their girdles, while they were deliberating on this important point. In the meantime they applied to the Porte for an order that the Venetians, settled in the Levant, should make up their loss. But with this the grand seignior refused to comply, and left them to repair their loss, as well as build new ships, the best way they could. It was not long, however, before they had the satisfaction to see one of their corsairs land with a fresh supply of 600 slaves, whom he had brought from the coast of Iceland, whither he had

been directed by a miscreant native, taken on board a Danish ship. Our pirates did not long continue in their weak and defenceless state ; being able, at the end of two years, to appear at sea with a fleet of sixty-five sail, which soon cleared the seas, and brought home vast numbers of slaves, and an immense quantity of rich spoils ; insomuch that the English, French and Dutch, were obliged to cringe to the mighty Algerines, who sometimes vouchsafed to be at peace with them, but swore eternal war against Spain, Portugal, and Italy, whom they looked upon as the greatest enemies to the Mahommedan name.

At last Louis XIV., provoked by the outrages committed by the Algerines on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc, ordered, in 1681, a considerable fleet to be fitted out against them, under the Marquis Du Quesne, vice-admiral of France. His first expedition was against a number of Tripolitan corsairs, who took shelter in the island of Scio ; but pursuing them thither, he quickly destroyed fourteen of their vessels, besides battering the walls of the castle ; and finding they still continued their outrages on the French coast, he sailed to Algiers in August, 1682, cannonading and bombarding it so furiously, that the whole town was in flames in a very little time. The great mosque was battered down, and most of the houses laid in ruins, insomuch that the inhabitants were on the point of abandoning the place ; when, on a sudden, the wind changed, and obliged Du Quesne to return to Toulon. The Algerines immediately made reprisals, by sending a number of galleys to the coast of Provence, where they committed the most dreadful ravages, and brought away a vast number of captives ; upon which a new armament was to be got ready at Toulon and Marseilles against the next year ; and the Algerines, having received timely notice, put themselves in as good a state of defence as the time would allow.

In May, 1683, Du Quesne with his squadron cast anchor before Algiers ; where, being joined by the marquis D'Affranville, at the

head of five stout vessels, it was resolved to bombard the town. Accordingly 100 bombs were thrown into it the first day, which did terrible execution; while the besieged made some hundred discharges of their cannon against them, without doing any considerable damage. The following nights the bombs were again thrown into the city in such numbers, that the dey's palace and other great edifices were almost destroyed; some of their batteries were dismounted, and several vessels sunk in the port. The dey and Turkish bashaw, as well as the whole soldiery, alarmed at this dreadful havoc, immediately sued for peace. As a preliminary, the immediate surrender was insisted on of all Christian captives who had been taken fighting under the French flag; which being granted, 142 of them were immediately delivered up, with a promise of sending him the remainder as soon as they could be got from the different parts of the country. Accordingly Du Quesne sent his commissary-general and one of his engineers into the town; but with express orders to insist upon the delivery of all the French captives without exception, together with the effects they had taken from the French; and that Mezomorto, their then admiral, and Hali Rais, one of their captains, should be given as hostages. This last demand having embarrassed the dey, he assembled the douwan, and acquainted them with it; upon which Mezomorto fell into a violent passion, and told the assembly, that the cowardice of those who sat at the helm had occasioned the ruin of Algiers; but that for his part he never would consent to deliver up any thing that had been taken from the French. He immediately acquainted the soldiery with what had passed; which so exasperated them, that they murdered the dey that very night, and on the morrow chose Mezomorto in his place. This was no sooner done, than he canceled all the articles of peace which had been made, and hostilities were renewed with greater fury than ever. The French admiral now kept pouring in such volleys of bombs, that in less than three days, the greatest part of the city

was reduced to ashes, and the fire burned with such vehemence, that the sea was enlightened with it for more than two leagues round. Mezomorto, unmoved at all these disasters, and the vast number of the slain, whose blood ran in rivulets along the streets ; or rather, grown furious and desperate, sought only how to wreak his revenge on the enemy : and, not content with causing all the French in the city to be cruelly murdered, ordered their consul to be tied hand and foot, and fastened alive to the mouth of a mortar, from whence he was shot away against their navy. By this piece of inhumanity, Du Quesne was so exasperated, that he did not leave Algiers till he had utterly destroyed all their fortifications, shipping, almost all the lower part, and above two-thirds of the upper part of the city ; by which means it became little else than a heap of ruins. The haughty Algerines were now thoroughly convinced that they were not invincible ; and, therefore, immediately sent an embassy into France, begging in the most abject terms for peace ; which Louis immediately granted, to their inexpressible joy.

The following copy of the speech, made by the Algerine envoy on this occasion, will give the reader an idea how deeply they felt the consequences of this defeat :

“ Most high, most excellent, most powerful, magnanimous, and invincible Louis XIV., emperor of the French, whom God preserve, and make happy, I prostrate myself at the foot of thy sublime imperial throne, as the messenger of the joy with which our republic, and the dey, my master, have concluded a peace with thy lieutenant ; and of their impatient desire, that thy sublime majesty will be pleased to put thy ratifying seal to it. The force of thy ever-victorious arms, and the strength of thy sword, have made them sensible of the fault which Baba Hassan committed, in declaring war against thy subjects. I am deputed hither to beg thy pardon for it, and to assure thee, in the sincerest terms, that, henceforth, our conduct shall be such as may deserve the

friendship of the greatest emperor of the disciples of Jesus, and the only one we stand in dread of.

“The atrocious violence committed against the person of thy consul, is such as we should judge would prove an invincible obstacle to a peace, if thy light, which, like that of the sun, penetrates all things, did not easily conceive how far an enraged and ungovernable populace can carry their furious resentment, in the midst of their fellow-citizens, crushed in pieces by thy bombs ; of which number they beheld their parents, brethren, and children, deprived either of life, effects, or liberty.

“But whatever their motives were, the violence we are far from excusing or extenuating. I come to beg of thee to turn for ever away thy sacred eyes from beholding a deed detested by all good men amongst us, especially those in power ; who cannot therefore be justly charged with it.

“We hope, mighty emperor, great as Gemsehid, opulent as Kraour, magnificent as Solyman, and magnanimous as Akemptas, that thy clemency will not reject these our earnest prayers ; and the high opinion we have of thy unparalleled generosity, gives us a kind of assurance, that thou wilt order all our brethren who wear thy chains to be set at liberty, as we ourselves have done, not only to thy subjects, but likewise to those who were under the shadow of thy august name ; that the joy for this peace may become equal and universal ; and that a much greater number of mouths may be thereby opened to celebrate thy praise. That, when thy subjects return to their country, they may thankfully come and throw themselves at thy feet, while our's proclaim thy praise throughout the vast countries of Africa, and imprint in their children a veneration for thy incomparable virtues, and a due regard for the French nation.

“This will prove the happy foundation of an eternal peace ; of which we promise an exact and religious observance on our part, in all its articles ; not doubting but it will be equally observed by

thy subjects ; from whom thy authority claims an unlimited obedience.

“ May the almighty and gracious Creator give a blessing upon this peace, and maintain a perpetual union between the most high, most excellent, and most magnanimous emperor of the French, and the most illustrious and magnificent bashaw, dey, douwan, and the victorious armies of the republic of Algiers.”

Fearful of his predecessor's fate, the ferocious dey now abdicated the sovereignty ; and the disputes which took place between the Turkish viceroys and the Algerine deys, occupy the principal part of their domestic history to the conclusion of this century, when the Porte united the two dignities into one. They now began to pay some regard to other nations, and to be a little cautious how they wantonly incurred their displeasure. The first bombardment by the French had so far humbled the Algerines, that they condescended to enter into a treaty with England ; which was renewed, upon terms very advantageous to the latter, in 1686. This was renewed, at various periods, by James II., William III., and Geo. II. It is not to be supposed, however, that the habitual perfidy of the Algerines would disappear on a sudden : notwithstanding this treaty, they lost no opportunity of making prizes of the English ships when they could conveniently come at them. Upon some infringement of this kind, captain Beach drove ashore, and burnt seven of their frigates in 1695 ; which produced a renewal of the treaty five years after : but it was not till the taking of Gibraltar and Port Mahon that Britain could have a sufficient check upon them to enforce the observation of treaties ; and these have since proved such restraints upon Algiers, that they still continue to pay a greater deference to the English than to any other European power. The last century furnishes no very remarkable events in the history of Algiers, except the taking of the famous city of Oran from the Spaniards in 1708, which they retook in 1737, and the expulsion of the Turk-

ish bashaw, and uniting his office to that of dey in 1710. This introduced the form of government which still continues in Algiers.

During the general peace of the European continent in 1816, the British government felt inclined to enter into some more permanent engagements with the people. They were required to treat the inhabitants of the Ionian isles as British subjects; a peace was negociated by England between the Barbary states and Sardinia and Naples, and the abolition of all Christian slavery. These proposals, the last excepted, met the dey's approbation; but, with respect to the last, as he was a subject of the Porte, he required a delay of six months to enable him to consult his government. Lord Exmouth agreed to wait three months, but had scarcely quitted the shores, when a most barbarous outrage on the coral fisheries at Bona, where a number of Corsicans, Neapolitans, and Italians, had long resorted for coral, under the protection of the British flag, summoned him to return. On the 23d of May, a body of Algerine infantry and cavalry, to the number of 2000, attacked their boats; the fire of the forts opened upon them at the same time, the British flags were seized and trampled under foot, and nearly the whole of the crews barbarously butchered. The government immediately resolved to punish this insulting barbarity; and, accordingly, the Impregnable of ninety-eight guns, three ships of seventy-eight guns, four frigates, and several smaller vessels, gun-boats, etc., were commanded to rendezvous at Gibraltar, where they were joined by five Dutch frigates and a sloop, and appeared before Algiers on the 18th of August. Here they found that very considerable additions had been made to the fortifications, that new works had been thrown up on both flanks of the town, that the ships were all in port, and between forty and fifty mortar and gun-boats, while an army of 40,000 troops had been collected from the interior.

After a fruitless message to the dey on the morning of the 27th of August, lord Exmouth, in the Queen Charlotte, personally commenced the attack, which was seconded by the whole fleet of English, and well supported by the Dutch. After twelve hours incessant firing, the whole Algerine fleet was destroyed, and at least half of the town. The fleet then retired to anchor, beyond those of the enemy's batteries and mortars which were still undemolished, and the following morning the British admiral had the satisfaction to receive from the dey the full acknowledgment of all the proposals made by the British government, in the following treaty. 1. The abolition of Christian slavery. 2. The delivery to the British flag of all slaves in the dominions of the dey, to whatever nation they may belong, at noon on the 31st of August. 3. To deliver to the British flag all money received by the dey for the redemption of slaves since the commencement of this year, at noon also of the same day. 4. Reparation being made to the British consul for all losses he may have sustained in consequence of his confinement. 5. The dey to make a public apology, in presence of his ministers and officers, and begging pardon of the consul in terms dictated by the captain of the Queen Charlotte. Lord Exmouth had the satisfaction of informing the British Admiralty, on the 1st of September, that all the slaves in Algiers were already embarked, with 357,000 dollars for Naples, and 25,000 for Sardinia.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty of 1816, and withdrawal of the British fleet from before Algiers, the dey remained undisputed monarch of this little kingdom, paying no other tribute to the Porte than a certain number of youths and other presents annually to Constantinople. His own income rose and fell according to the opportunities he met of spoliating both natives and foreigners; whence different estimates have been formed of his wealth by different authors. Dr. Shaw computed that the taxes of the whole kingdom brought no more than 800,000 dollars annually

into the treasury, but imagined that the eighth part of all prizes, the effects of those who died childless, in conjunction with the yearly contribution paid to the government, fines, and extortions, constituted about as much more. The dey and his officers enriched themselves by plunder and fraud ; an example imitated to the letter by his faithful subjects. It is very well known that the first deys were elected by the militia, who were at that period called the douwan or common council. This elective body at first consisted of 800 militia officers, without whose concurrence the dey was not permitted to enact any public measure. Upon emergencies, all the resident officers in Algiers, sometimes amounting to 1500, were invited to assist in council. But in the changes that naturally take place in the lapse of years, the dey, the stadholder of Algiers, became more powerful, and his senate or douwan was limited to only thirty chiah-bashaws or colonels, with the mufti and cadi upon extraordinary occasions. Upon the election of a dey, the military character of the government was fully developed ; for then every soldier was permitted to vote. By this martial court, every regulation should have been approved, previously to its becoming a law, or before the dey had authority to carry its provisions into effect : but during the latter years of Turkish rule, the douwan or Algerine parliament became obsolete, and was only convened by the tyrant to give a color of justice to his proceedings, or sometimes possibly from an idea that the consciousness of guilt would be alleviated by participation. The mode in which these devoted members gave in the expression of their assent (for dissent there was little less than treason) was this,—the aga or general of the Janissaries, the president *pro tempore*, first proposed the question, which was immediately repeated with a loud voice by the chiah-bashaws, and re-echoed by four officers called bashaldalas ; from these the question was sent round from one member of the douwan to another, accompanied at each repetition with savage growlings, and even contortions of

the body, according to the taste and feeling of the members. From the peculiarity of each person's tone the aga was left to conjecture his intention, and to collect, as well as he could, the wishes of the majority of this uncouth assembly: and from the uncivilized beings who composed this parliament, as well as from the preposterous method of ascertaining their wishes, it is not to be wondered at that their deliberations were frequently attended with results the most dissatisfactory and unhappy.

At the election of a dey, when the entire army were admitted to the privilege of voting, endless trouble and disorder constantly arose, and the choice was generally accompanied by scenes of massacre and bloodshed. The successful (fortunate he could not be called) candidate, notwithstanding the previous violence, was immediately greeted by all parties with *Alla barrick*, "God bless" or "God prosper you;" words most inconsistently applied to a monster who the next hour usually caused every officer, a member of the *douwan*, to be strangled, and filled their places with the very assassins themselves.

From this history of the election of a chief governor, the natural conclusion is, that the government could not have been either secure or just, and that, as they ascended the throne through disorder, tumult, and blood, so in most cases they were compelled to abdicate it by the hand of the assassin, or the poisoned bowl.

The officer next in power to the dey was the aga of the Janisseries, who was one of the oldest officers in the army, and held his post only for two months. He was then succeeded by the *chiah*, or next senior officer. During the two months in which the aga enjoyed his dignity, the keys of the metropolis were in his hands; all military orders were issued out in his name; and the sentence of the dey upon any offending soldier, whether capital or not, could only be executed in the court of his palace. As soon as he had gone through his short office, he was considered as *mazoul*, or superannuated; received his pay regularly,

like the rest of the militia, every two moons ; was exempt from all further duties, except when called by the dey to assist at the grand council, to which he had, however, a right to come at all times, but had no longer a vote in it. Next to the aga in dignity, was the secretary of state, who registered all the public acts ; and after him were the thirty chiahs, or colonels, who sat next to the aga in the douwan, and in the same gallery with him. Out of this class were generally chosen those who go ambassadors to foreign courts, or who dispersed the dey's orders throughout the realm. Next to them were 800 bolluk-bashaws, or eldest captains, who were promoted to that of chiah-bashaws, according to their seniority. The oldah-bashaws, or lieutenants, were next ; who amounted to 400, and were regularly raised to the rank of captains in their turn, and to other employments in the state, according to their abilities. These, by way of distinction, wore a leather strap, hanging down to the middle of their back. One rule was strictly observed in the rotation of these troops from one deputy to a higher ; viz : the right of seniority ; one single infringement of which would raise an insurrection, and probably cost the dey his life. Other military officers of note were the vakelards, or purveyors of the army ; the peys, who are the four oldest soldiers, and consequently the nearest to preferment ; the soulacks, who were the next in seniority to them, and were part of the dey's body-guard, always marched before him when he took the field, and distinguished by their carabines and gilt scimitars, with a brass gun on their caps ; the kayts, or Turkish soldiers, each band of whom had the government of one or more adowars, or itinerant villages, and collected their taxes for the dey ; and the sagiards, or Turkish lance-men, 100 of whom always attended the army, and watched over the water appointed for it. To these we may add the beys, or governors of the three great provinces of the realm.

Algiers with regard to its government was, as we have already

intimated, by some styled a republic ; but, if it was not a perfect despotism, it could at best be only ranked as a vile oligarchy. It did not even merit the title of an aristocratic commonwealth. The powerful party of Turks, always to be found in this part, kept the government in their own hands, and the natives had no share. Algiers was formerly divided into three provinces ; viz : the eastern, western, and southern. The eastern, or Levantine government, which was by far the most considerable of the three, and was also called Beylick, contains the towns of Bona, Constantina, Gigeri, Bujeyah, Stessa, Tebez, Zamoura, Biscara, and Necanz, in all which the Turks had garrisons ; besides which, it included the two ancient kingdoms of Cuco and Labez, though independent of the Algerine government, to whose forces their country was inaccessible ; so that they still lived under their own cheyks, chosen by each of their adowars or hords. To these we may add a French factory at Callo, under the direction of the company of the French Bastion. The western government had the towns of Oran, Tremecen, Mostagan, Tenez, and Secrelly, with its castle and garrison. The southern government had neither town, village, nor even a house, all the inhabitants living in tents, which obliged the dey and his forces to be always encamped.

In this country it was not to be expected that justice would be administered with any degree of impartiality. It was ordinarily administered by the cadi, who attended a kind of police court twice a day ; but principal causes were referred to the dey. The Mahommedan soldiery were so much favored, that they were seldom put to death for any crime, except rebellion ; in which case they were either strangled with a bow-string, or hanged to an iron hook. In lesser offences they were fined, or their pay stopped ; and, if officers, they were reduced to the station of common soldiers, from whence they might gradually raise themselves to their former dignity. Women guilty of adultery, had a halter tied

about their necks, with the other end fastened to a pole, by which they were held under water till they were suffocated. The bastinado was likewise inflicted for small offences, and was given either upon the belly, back, or soles of the feet, according to the pleasure of the *cadi*, who also appointed the number of strokes. These sometimes amounted to 200 or 300, according to the indulgence the offender could obtain, either by bribery or friends; and hence many died under this punishment, for want of advocates sufficiently powerful. But the most terrible punishments were those inflicted upon the Jews or Christians who spoke against Mahomet or his religion; in which case, they were either to turn Mahomedan, or be impaled alive. If they afterwards apostatized, they were burned or roasted alive, or else thrown down from the top of the city walls upon iron hooks, where they were caught by different parts of their body, according as they happened to fall, and sometimes expired in the greatest torments; though by accident they might be put out of pain at once. This terrible punishment, however, in latter years was disused.

The coin in circulation at Algiers is chiefly that of the foreign commercial nations; the Spanish doubloon and dollar are those most commonly seen: the sultanas of gold pass for two dollars. Besides these, there is a copper *barba*, having the arms of the country on each side, and a square silver *asper*, worth about an English crown. The *pata chica* is an ideal sum, like the pound English, equal to 232 *aspers*.

With respect to trade, we observed the corsairs, or pirates, formed a small republic, of which the *rais* or captain was the supreme bashaw; who, with the officers under him, formed a kind of *douwan*, in which every matter relating to the vessel was decided in an arbitrary way. These corsairs were chiefly instrumental in importing whatever commodities were brought into the kingdom, either by way of merchandise or prizes; which consist chiefly of gold and silver, stuffs, damasks, cloths, spices, tin, iron,

plated brass, lead, quicksilver, cordage, sail-cloth, bullets, cochineal, linen, tartar, alum, rice, sugar, soap, cotton, raw and spun, copperas, aloes, Brazil and log-wood, vermilion, etc. Very few commodities, however, are exported from this part of the world; the oil, wax, hides, pulse, and corn produced, being but barely sufficient to supply the country; though before the loss of Oran, the merchants have been known to ship off from one or other of the ports of Barbary, several thousand tons of corn. The consumption of oil, though here in great abundance, is likewise so considerable in this kingdom, that it is seldom permitted to be shipped off for Europe. The other exports consist chiefly in ostrich feathers, copper, rugs, silk sashes, embroidered handkerchiefs, dates, and Christian slaves. Some manufactures in silk, cotton, wool, leather, etc., are carried on in this country, but mostly by the Spaniards settled here, especially about the metropolis. Carpets are also a manufacture of the country, which, though inferior to those of Turkey both in beauty and fineness, are preferred by the people to lie upon, on account of their being both cheaper and softer. There are also, at Algiers, looms for velvet, taffaties, and other wrought silks; and a coarse sort of linen is likewise made in most parts of the kingdom. The country furnishes no materials for ship-building. They have neither ropes, tar, sails, anchors, nor even iron.

The preceding account of Algiers as it was, is extraordinary, as establishing the melancholy truth of so much injustice, cruelty and infamy, having been permitted to retain an uncontrolled dominion for so many years, in the vicinity of the most civilized nations of the world, and actually adjoining a commercial settlement of the French nation. Until the present century all nations trading to the Mediterranean were subject to an annual tribute to this nation of pirates, in order to protect their commerce from interruption, their property from spoliation, and their subjects from slavery. Spain endeavored to release herself from the irk-

some impost, and to prohibit the extortion, but without success. England stormed the haughty robber in his fortress, shook his capital around him, and, having humbled him to the dust, struck off the fetters from the Christian captives. America, a land of freedom, also asserted the rights of man, and united with her parent country, in 1816, in giving liberty to the numerous victims of Algerine cruelty. Any other nation, any other governor, if not influenced by a feeling of actual loss and injury sustained by repeated chastisements, would have either calmly yielded to the conditions which nations so superior in force had imposed, or acknowledged the obligation of a treaty. It was otherwise, however, with this piratical people; and the continuance of their falsehood and infamy led to their extinction as an independent state. The French ultimately resolved upon ridding the world of this barbarous system of government, and, in the year 1830, despatched an army of 40,000 men for that purpose to the shores of Barbary. This body of troops, well disciplined and equipped, landed on the coast in the autumn of that year, and effected an easy conquest of the city of Algiers. The dey was permitted to withdraw into Europe, where he sunk into private life, and the state of Algiers was converted into a dependency of France.

CHAPTER V.

SKETCH OF ALGIERS, FROM CAPT. RILEY'S JOURNAL.

Bay of Algiers — The city — El Sebbah, the Strong Fortress — Dwellings — Moors and Arabs — Their fondness for traffic — The Mole — Military government of the French — Shipping — The environs of the city — Magnificent country houses — Plain of Mustapha — Gardens, &c. — Quarries — Atlas mountains — Hannibal's march through this country — The "Great Valley" — French village of Conbah — Disastrous French expedition — Remarks upon the government and country.

CAPT. RILEY arrived at Algiers in the early part of May, 1833, and his journal of that period contains the following descriptive sketch of the city and country subsequent to the French conquest :

Algiers Bay is a deep bay, being about eight miles inland and ten miles across its mouth, quite open from the north and north-east, from whence the prevailing winds range in stormy seasons ; but it affords good shelter from winds from the east, and by south to north-west.

The Town of Algiers, which is about one mile in extent each way, though irregular in its form, stands on the western side of the bay, about a league within the cape ; and rises from the beach, on the declivity of a hill somewhat steep, to the height of about five hundred feet ; and its houses and mosques, being built of stone and lime, and whitewashed and terraced, make an imposing and really fine appearance, as they rise tier over tier like the seats of an amphitheatre.

The town is walled in on all sides ; and these walls, being about twenty-five feet high, are mostly encircled on the land side by a

deep and wide dry ditch. On the summit of the hill, and overlooking the town, stands *El Sebbah*, or the Strong Fortress, the former residence of the Deys: it forms a very extensive mass of buildings, and is separated from the main town by strong walls, though within the outer walls of the town, or city. These defences were deemed necessary to guard the tyrants from assassination by their subjects. The late Dey is said to have never left this fortress during fourteen years, fearing assassination, until he was *liberated* from his own castle by the conquests of the French! This fortress, and indeed the whole city, is commanded by the Emperor's Fort, standing on an eminence a short distance above the city, to the south-west.

The streets within the city are mere lanes or alleys, from five to fifteen feet in width, and are mostly covered over by arches, which support the buildings above, or by the projecting of the houses on each side above the first stories, which thus approach so nearly together as almost to exclude, not only the sunshine, but even the light of day—rendering those passages dark and gloomy; and withal they are quite filthy. On the side next the streets, the walls of the buildings have only small holes for the admission of light and air; and these are secured by iron gratings. The entrance to the principal houses is by a large door, or rather gate, through which horsemen or loaded camels might enter; and in each of these gates is a small door for the convenience of foot passengers; but they are generally shut up and locked fast, to prevent intrusion or trespass. These houses are usually, within, in a square form; the rooms, generally from ten to twenty feet wide, surround a court within from twenty to forty feet square, and open above. These courts are handsomely paved, and ornamented with rows of pillars of solid masonry or marble, which support handsome galleries running around this interior square, at each story of the building. The floors are made of terrace-work, and covered with tiles, of various shapes and colors, nicely

fitted and glazed, and, being kept very clean, afford a cool and delightful retreat for air and exercise ; while in many of these courts are seen flower-gardens and fountains playing, where delicious odors and cooling freshness render the residence of their inhabitants a sort of paradise. Many of those Moors have become rich by their piracies and their traffic ; for every Moor and Arab is fond of trading, and employ the utmost industry and perseverance in forming and effecting schemes which ultimately promise even a trifling profit. This is a general characteristic of the Moors and Arabs wherever I have known them, in different portions of Asia, as well as in all the western and northern parts of Africa ; each man among them has an accurate knowledge of figures, and can make the closest conceivable calculations. What might not such a people effect in commerce, agriculture and the arts, with a free and liberal government, and divested of their religious prejudices and delusions ? For, although considered barbarians by the *Christian* world, and though manifesting the utmost cruelty and barbarity towards their enemies and those who differ from them in religious faith, yet, in charity, we must allow much for their education, and the long-continued despotism of their government ; and we must further concede, that similar traits have in former times been common among nations calling themselves, and generally denominated, civilized and Christian.

The bay affords so little shelter for vessels, that their whole dependance for safety is the *Mole*, which is built of stone and faced with immense blocks of granite, cut and dragged from the quarries, on low-wheeled cars, some two or three miles. This labor for the most part was performed by Christian slaves, who have been, for ages back, forced to labor like beasts of burthen upon the Algerine public works. Herewith accompanies a sketch of this celebrated Mole, which has for centuries secured those piratical fleets in the bay of Algiers. The Mole extends from the Town about one thousand yards east, to an original reef of rocks :

its "T" is about the same extent. It is everywhere covered with batteries and storehouses of two or more stories, and is altogether an imposing mass. The basin has five fathoms water; but being open to the south, is a rough harbor in heavy northern gales, in consequence of the recoil of the sea. The ships are fastened to cannon or rings, firmly fixed in the Mole, and generally, when out of the basin, by a stern anchor, and are moored in tiers similar to the marks behind the Mole; those within being men-of-war, merchantmen, and small craft.

The government of the city and country is military, and of course highly despotic: the French, Moors, and Jews, live in adjoining houses or quarters of the city; the city government and patrols are composed of French and Moorish magistrates and guards. Jews are very numerous, and bless the French for all the personal freedom they enjoy, but at the same time complain that trade is annihilated since the conquest. The trade of Algiers is in fact nearly destroyed; the military chiefs seem to have no idea of the value of free commerce to a rising colony. Every article of import pays a high duty of customs, to which is added an enormous excise, (*city octroi*,) in order to defray the expenses of the city government and improvements. Thus, many articles of the first necessity, such as bread, meats, and olive oil, are *farmed* out, and liberty or license to retail is given only to him who pays the "octroi" by the year, and has obtained a license to furnish the inhabitants with that particular article, and on which he must gain, besides the amount of his tax, his living profit; and of course the double guard at the gates, and the revenue officers at the market place, vigilantly take care of the octroi system!

The Moors from the country furnish cattle, oil, poultry, eggs and vegetables, for the army and city consumption, for which they are paid in French coin, either in five franc pieces, or parts of five francs; but as they have no confidence in its value, they invariably exchange the French coin for Spanish dollars or doub-

loons before leaving the city ; so that dollars now bear a premium of about ten per cent., and are continually rising, while the gold sequin and its parts, and the Moorish silver coins, have entirely disappeared.

Both Moors and Arabs still believe that the French will soon leave the city and country, and that their old government will be restored ; and acting upon this belief, they trade but little, and bring but scanty supplies of provisions and no articles for export. There are now in the port four sloops of war, and three steam brigs, government vessels, and about one hundred and fifty sail of ships, brigs, and smaller vessels, comprising French, Austrian, Danish, Spanish, Neapolitan, Greek, Genoese, English, and one American—the Wm. Tell—the only one that has visited this port since the possession of the French, and indeed for some time previous to that. The greater portion of these vessels were chartered to bring grain and forage, from France and Italy, for the troops and cavalry ; some were laden with grain from Odessa, and others with barley from the Baltic ; smaller vessels bring wine, oil, etc., and some French and English goods on speculation.

The country around Algiers is hilly and steep, but is, nevertheless, dotted over with elegant country houses, gardens, vineyards, groves of fruit trees, and fields of wheat and barley. The houses are in many instances splendid edifices, which might well be denominated *palaces*. Many of these are large and lofty, the galleries of which are adorned and supported by marble or alabaster columns, richly carved ; the courts and gardens contain numerous fountains, from which gush most excellent water, by which the air is cooled and refreshed, while at the same time it waters and nourishes innumerable flowering shrubs and plants, whose fragrance fills the surrounding atmosphere and the mansion with the most delicious perfume. Among others, I visited the former country seat of the French consul, a most magnificent residence,

occupied by a hospitable merchant, Mons. J. B. F. Lacrouy. South of the bay, and between the shore and first range of hills, lies the plain of Mustapha. Its length from west to east is many leagues, and its breadth quite various. The surface is covered with vegetable gardens, fields of wheat, barley and oats ; its hedges are of the prickly pear ; and the ground where uncultivated, both upon the plain and upon the hill sides, is clothed with verdure and decked with wild aromatic flowers, of every color of the rainbow. These hills rise from three hundred to six hundred feet, and present steep and gullied sides, the ascent of which on horseback, even on the roads, is difficult and fatiguing. In the sides of this range are the Quarries—from which the granite has been taken for constructing the Mole, the city walls, and other public edifices. From their summit the lofty range of the Atlas mountains was plainly in view, stretching from west to east until lost beyond the boundaries of the horizon, the highest peaks of which are always covered with snow and ice, which in this latitude denotes an elevation of more than six thousand feet. This stupendous range stretches from W. S. W. to E. N. E. and crosses the northern part of Africa. I have seen it in Suse, south of Morocco, with its peaks far above the clouds and covered with never-melting snow, in about 27 deg. N. latitude, and 12 deg. longitude west from London. I have viewed it from almost every part of western and northern Morocco, still presenting the same lofty and sublime appearance, with its spurs stretching nearly to the straits of Gibraltar. In coasting along the Barbary shore from this strait to Algiers, this lofty range is continually, in fine weather, presented to the view ; and many of its spurs, or projections, form promontories, washed by the Mediterranean, whose southern shores are bold, precipitous, and mountainous, to the longitude of 11° east from London ; and its latitude here is from 36° to 37°. This Atlas range, consequently, crosses more than ten degrees of latitude, and twenty-two of longitude. Well might

the ancient mythologists describe this Atlas as "bearing the heavens upon its shoulders." The whole coast is broken by mountains and lofty promontories, with everywhere deep ravines, defiles, and gullies, with very few practicable harbors, and but little shelter for vessels in stormy weather. The rivers and water-courses are also numerous ; and yet through this almost impassable country, the renowned Carthagenian general, Hannibal, must have marched his formidable army, a distance of nearly fifteen hundred miles, before reaching the coasts of the straits opposite Spain, where they embarked for the conquest of Rome and Italy—a distance yet in Europe of more than two thousand miles: in his course conquering and subjecting the people among whom he marched, overcoming all the natural obstructions so exceedingly formidable, and routing the best appointed Roman armies. Before the talents, discipline, and conquests of the African general, considering all the difficulties, and his unyielding determination, the exploits of even Alexander the Great seem to dwindle into diminished importance. The magnitude of those enterprizes, as I apprehend, cannot be fully estimated, except by those who have visited and explored these deeply interesting regions. Such reflections forced themselves irresistibly upon my mind while threading my way, on horseback, along the sides of those hills, through the narrow and crooked paths, which are frequently worn down into the earth and rock several feet deep, running up and down precipices, and traversing ravines, where we were obliged to dismount, both to descend and ascend, and clamber along with much difficulty ; while the foliage of the wild trees and shrubs on either side spread over our heads and in our path, forming sometimes an arbor, and at others an almost impenetrable thicket, dark as night ; and where ten men well armed, as it would seem, might resist the passage of a thousand.

Between our station on these hills and the Atlas, lies a plain of from fifteen to thirty miles in breadth, and its length apparently

interminable ; through this valley the river *Mediah* winds its way eastward to the sea. On the banks of this river, about five leagues from the city of Algiers, the French troops have lately advanced, and are now there engaged in cutting the luxuriant grass, and making hay and forage for their cavalry, with a view to diminish the necessity of such immense importations from Europe. This plain, or "great valley," is deserted by its former inhabitants ; and as far as the eye can reach, lies utterly at waste : for the reason, as I presume, that neither the Moors nor French colonists feel themselves safe in its occupancy. Its extensive enclosures by hedges of the prickly pear and other plants, the ruins of dwellings, the scattered clumps of forest and fruit trees, with many other indications, show that not long since it was densely populated ; and I should consider it one of the finest plains imaginable ; almost, if not quite equal to the "happy valley" of the *Prince Rasselas*.

On the northern border of this valley stands the village of *Conbah*, built by the French, of stone houses thatched with straw. About fifty families of French and German colonists reside here ; they have, in the vicinity, some fine vegetable gardens, and some good fields of wheat and barley. We dined at Conbah ; the outposts of the army are near this village. The climate of this region must be one of the best on earth ; its latitude is nearly thirty-seven degrees, or about that of the capes of the Chesapeake bay and Virginia ; and yet here is neither snow nor frost, but the country is continually covered with verdure.

Nearly all the grains, fruits, and vegetables of the South of Europe grow here in great abundance and perfection, besides many fruits and productions common to the tropical regions. The water is excellent and in great abundance, owing, as it is presumed, to the proximity of the Atlas ridges. The air is soft and balmy, except, perhaps, during the heats of summer, when, as no rain falls from May till September, vegetation suffers mate-

rially from the drouth, although the dews are heavy. The wheat lands are seeded in December and January, and the barley and oats later, yet in the rainy season. The barley harvest commences in May; the wheat harvest is in June. None but the hard and rich flint wheat, which defies the attacks of the weavel, is cultivated; and notwithstanding the state of warfare in which the invasion of the country keeps the people, yet, in coasting along from the Straits of Gibraltar to Algiers, fields of wheat and barley are everywhere seen upon the slopes of the hills; and plantations of the olive, almond, apricot, cherry, fig, lemon, orange, and other fruits are visible; but the country generally is bare of forest trees; and the naked rocks, chasms, sides and summits of the mountains, even in May, look dreary and desolate, and in this the country much resembles the mountainous tracts in Spain, visible along the Northern shore of the Mediterranean.

Not long since the French General Berthizer, then commander-in-chief at Algiers, went on an expedition beyond the Atlas, in order to chastise the natives, at a town by the Moors called Medioh; taking most of his disposable force. The passage through the Atlas, for a considerable distance, was a narrow defile, being, as represented to me by an officer of the expedition, but little wider than a gateway. This defile they quietly passed through, proceeded to the town, which they found deserted, and began the work of destruction. The General soon learned, however, that the natives were in his rear, and endeavoring to cut off his retreat, which was thereupon instantly commenced, and before the natives had time to rally in sufficient force fully to accomplish their object. On arriving at the defile, however, they found that the precipices were already occupied by a detachment of the natives, who commenced an attack upon the retreating columns, by rolling down huge stones upon them, and by every other means in their power afforded them by the peculiar nature of the place. The French troops hurried onward, firing away with but little effect

until their ammunition, which, by some unaccountable error, was at first only thirty rounds per man, was wholly expended. The retreat then became a rout, and the natives dashed in among the troops, killing many with *athaghans* — a large dagger ; some endeavored to save themselves by using the bayonet only ; others by throwing away their arms and taking to flight. In this dilemma the General sent express to Algiers ordering out all the garrison, which instantly marched to their relief ; but before they could reach the fugitives, the remains of the army had got within their old lines, and the enemy had retired. These lines are about two leagues in advance of the city of Algiers. The army lost in this ill-advised expedition, according to common report, about 2000 men ! and had the retreat been delayed a single hour longer, the officers believe that not a single man could have escaped.

To conquer this country quickly by military force, would require vast armies and immense resources ; and then it could be effectually conquered only by the destruction of the entire population — a result too horrible to be contemplated. The most effectual method of accomplishing this result would be by taking and keeping possession of the principal ports on their coasts as far as practicable ; by friendly intercourse with the natives, by demanding no tribute or tax whatever, and by the French system of free religious toleration. Thus, I am convinced, that this fine country might be readily colonized by pushing the present race gradually back — by the intermixture of the races (so natural and congenial to the French character) ; so that, within a century, all would become assimilated in appearance, manners, customs, and language ; indeed, the French already have begun to exhibit the effect of this Gaellic characteristic, in cultivating their beards and shaving their heads, *a la mode Algerine*.

In the meantime much treasure must be expended, as is always necessary in planting colonies in barbarous regions ; also, no attempt should be made to raise a revenue in this country for

many years — not even for the support of the civil government, should one ever be established independent of the present despotic military system — and above all, the tyrannical system of excise, or city ‘*octroi*,’ so repugnant to the feelings of this people, should be entirely abandoned.

It is furthermore important that the ports in this country should be free ports ; that trade and commerce should be encouraged by all proper means, and no vexatious exactions allowed by the military or custom-house officers, who I may mention are exceedingly prone to abuse their “ little brief authority ” when abroad. I make mention of this, inasmuch as it appears to me that every officer here, from the lowest to the highest, is actuated by a spirit of plunder and peculation ; and is determined, at all hazards, to amass money, while he performs the duties of his station in a manner that would cost him his head at home. Indeed, the military commander seems to have no idea of the value of commerce to a rising colony, as well as to disregard the rights and privileges of the community ; all must bend to his notions of discipline, or bow to the strong arm of power.

The French authorities at Algiers imagine that the country is soon to be abandoned by France ; or that the jealousy or arms of England are to wrest it from them — all the emigrants of Europe hold the same opinion ; and the Moors and Jews are positive that their country is soon to be evacuated, and that their old form of government will be reëstablished. Upon what grounds this assurance is founded I am unable to determine. It would seem that such a course of policy in England, or indeed by any of the European nations, would be both impolitic and unjust : impolitic, because this fine region, where reigns one eternal spring and summer, where no frosts ever occur, where the soil is luxuriant and the air balmy, offers to the crowded and turbulent population of all parts of Europe an asylum from poverty and oppression ; and also because England herself might send out here, at a small

expense, her swarms of vagrants and pickpockets, to exercise their *industry* upon the Moors, Jews, and Arabs ; and she might, moreover, add the inmates of her poorhouses and workhouses, which are now sent in vast numbers by the parish authorities, annually to the United States. Furthermore, France, instead of augmenting her power, must, of necessity, materially diminish her resources in Europe, from whence she will be obliged for half a century to come, to drain immense sums of money for the support of her African fleets and armies, and her Colonial government. Should her land and naval forces be withdrawn from this region, a new impulse would unavoidably be given to piracy of the worst conceivable character. It would be unjust, because France alone and unaided, at the sacrifice of many thousands of her soldiers, and many millions of money, has conquered this most formidable and barbarous piratical people, which had long been the dread of Christendom and the scourge of commerce ; and by suppressing this piracy, France has rendered to the whole civilized world the most important benefits.

Already great numbers of emigrants of both sexes are constantly arriving from France, Spain, Italy, Venice, Dalmatia, and Naples, in search of a better country or more congenial government. But these emigrants are still confined to the city of Algiers and the immediate environs ; for, the protection of France extends, as yet, no farther than the reach of their cannon shot, say six miles from the city walls ; within that space all endeavor to gain a livelihood by their several occupations, their industry, and their talents.

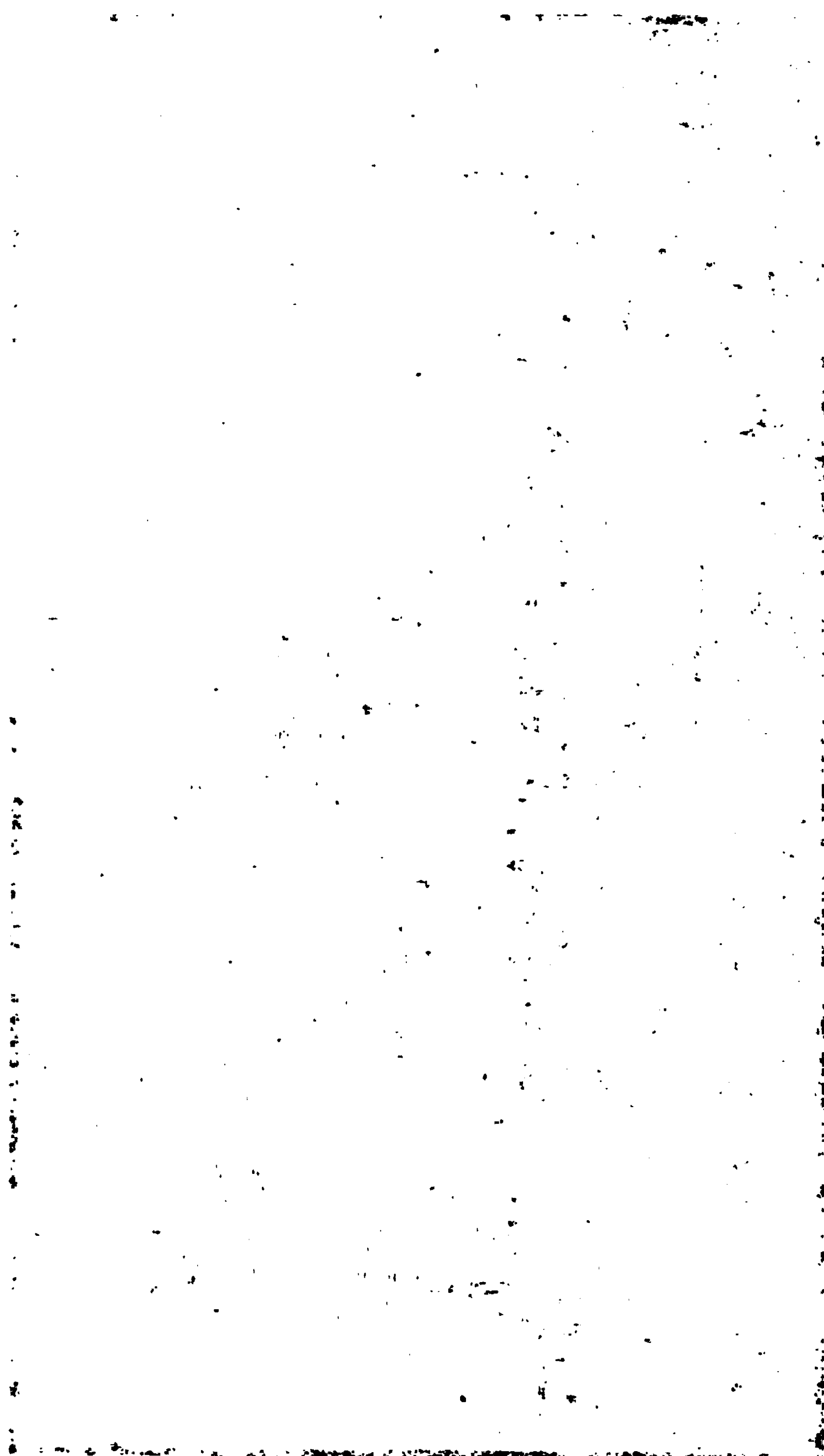
VIEW OF MUGADORE.--No. 1.

At the time of the capture of the ship, the crew was divided into two parties, one of which was in the possession of the ship, and the other was in the possession of the shore. The crew of the ship was divided into two parties, one of which was in the possession of the ship, and the other was in the possession of the shore. The crew of the ship was divided into two parties, one of which was in the possession of the ship, and the other was in the possession of the shore.

This circumstance occurring, the crew of the ship was divided into two parties, one of which was in the possession of the ship, and the other was in the possession of the shore. The crew of the ship was divided into two parties, one of which was in the possession of the ship, and the other was in the possession of the shore.

46.

THE HON. DANIEL P. MOHR
SIR: The undersigned is
sent for your consideration.
Respectfully, your obedient servant



CHAPTER VI.

Return to New York — Sails for Gibraltar and Mogadore — Mutiny — Letter to Commodore Patterson — Arrives at Mogadore — Communication to U. S. Government — Visit of the ship "John Adams" — Letter from Mr. Willshire — Spanish captives on the Desert — Sails for New York.

WITH a cargo of gums, wool, and goat skins, Capt. Riley returned to New York in September, 1833 ; and having there discharged his cargo, he again immediately fitted out his brig for another voyage to Gibraltar and Mogadore. He sailed on this voyage about the 1st of November with a cargo, and arrived at Gibraltar early in December following.

While lying at Gibraltar, on this voyage, his crew became turbulent and unruly ; but the mutiny was suppressed by the prompt and decisive discipline of Capt. Riley, and the ringleaders were forthwith discharged.

This circumstance occurring at this time, and similar scenes being then of frequent occurrence on board the commercial vessels of the United States, was the occasion of calling forth from a number of the most respectable and experienced shipmasters then in that port, the following communication, written by Capt. Riley and addressed to Commodore Patterson, then in command of the U. S. naval squadron in the Mediterranean :

"GIBRALTAR, December 23, 1833.

TO COM. DANIEL PATTERSON :

SIR : The undersigned shipmasters, take the liberty to represent for your consideration, that this bay and port are more frequented by our merchant vessels than any other place in this

region ; that hundreds of our vessels touch here annually — many for purposes of trade, some to obtain information with regard to other markets, others through stress of weather — for shelter against head winds and tempests — for provisions and stores, and to repair damages sustained at sea ; that in this time of general peace among maritime states, our country is filled with foreign seamen, among whom are the vagabonds, mutineers and pirates, of all countries. This is peculiarly so for the reason, that in the United States no passports are required — no verification as to their country or former employment is attempted ; because seamen's wages are higher than in any other country upon earth ; and because very few of our citizens are apprenticed to the seafaring business, and very few landsmen are employed in our service ; that our best native seamen are employed in the U. S. navy ; in the whale-fishery, where foreigners cannot do the duty, and in the regular India trade from the eastern section of our Union ; that from our great commercial emporium, New York, and in most of our ports southward of that city, five-tenths of the men employed as sailors are foreigners, who never even dreamed of becoming naturalized — who have no love, nor even respect, for our country or our flag, and no ties of kindred or consanguinity to bind them to their duty ; that their written "protection," sometimes obtained by false swearing, or by purchase from each other, (with a transfer of names which they change at pleasure, and often every voyage,) constitutes them, by law, American seamen, as much as though they were native citizens, whether seamen or landsmen — whether native or foreigner ; that with crews thus composed of the dregs and offscourings of the earth, the outcasts of foreign nations, our officers must navigate our vessels ; and to do so, must rule their crews with a rod of iron, or submit to insubordination, wrangling, fighting, mutiny, bloodshed, piracy and murder ; that these evils are continually increasing, and that to an alarming degree ; so much so, that

every vessel is infested with unruly and ungovernable scoundrels, who, when in ports abroad, contrive and combine to put in practice all their vile machinations ; that in this port, where martial law always reigns, it being nothing more than a garrisoned fortress, and no disposition on the part of the military authorities to aid in quelling riots, or even mutinies in the harbor, and where they will grant no facilities for confining, punishing or coercing any disorderly foreign seamen, in order to bring them back to their duty ; and where our consul has no means within his control to punish such men ; and, as in almost every week, coercion, and even punishment, has here become necessary : we solicit you, therefore, to send upon this station one of the vessels of your squadron, with such orders as you may deem necessary for the protection of the property and lives of our commercial marine, at this port and in its vicinity. Within the last three months many riotous and mutinous acts have occurred on board of a number of our vessels. They are mostly known to our consul, Mr. Sprague, but the details would be too tedious and disgusting for this communication ; that worthy officer has, however, done every thing in his power to conciliate and bring the mutinous and disorderly seamen to a sense of their duty ; and through the civil authorities has obtained the confinement for a time, on shore, of one mutinous crew, and sent them home.

The presence of a national vessel of war, where unruly and mutinous men might be punished, confined, or sent home for trial, would have a very salutary effect, and might prevent the commission of numerous crimes. At the same time, a vessel of war thus stationed, might be of essential service to guard and protect the crews and cargoes of vessels that happen to be stranded and wrecked in this bay, and on the adjoining coast, during the winter season ; for scarcely a winter passes without the occurrence of some such disasters in this vicinity ; and for several years past Americans have, in cases of shipwreck on the Spanish coast of

this bay, been obliged to apply for relief and protection to English or other foreign ships of war, because no American vessel could be found in the vicinity of this port.

With great consideration and regard, we are, sir,

Your obedient servants,

JAMES RILEY, (*and others.*)

COMMODORE D. PATTERSON,
United States Navy."

Soon after this Capt. Riley sailed for Mogadore, where he arrived in the forepart of January, 1834. On his passage to Mogadore he had fine weather; but subsequently, while in the roadstead of Mogadore, he encountered, as he writes, "a continual spell of heavy swells and rough weather, rendering it necessary to move anchors at every opportunity, to prevent disasters to ourselves and other vessels in port. There were eight brigs here when we arrived; there are now but four, and the port is too small for even that number; but having three good chains and anchors, I hope we shall be able to outride the stormy season, although it detains us very much in our business, and will consequently make of this a long voyage."

In 1833, Capt. Riley had addressed a communication to the executive department of the U. S. government, recommending the propriety and advantage of showing a portion of our naval force in the Moorish ports of the Atlantic, in which ports no national vessel of the United States had as yet appeared.

Inasmuch as this communication sets forth some forcible reasons for such an exhibition of our naval force, and contains minute sailing directions for entering some of those ports, a few extracts therefrom are deemed worthy of being given to the public.

Capt. Riley writes thus:

"Mogadore is situated on a promontory, and its walls at high tides are washed by the sea; in the winter, strong trade-winds

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VIEW OF MOGAUDUNE. 1880.

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from the north prevail almost continually; the air is quite cool, even in the hottest seasons, and the place is remarkably healthy. During my stay an English brig of war came there and anchored in the harbor, saluted the town, and it was returned. She took in supplies of live stock, vegetables, water, etc., and returned after a visit of some days, towards Gibraltar, from whence she came. A vessel of war at that place (Mogadore,) has no port charges to pay, nor any vexatious health visits to encounter; and to my judgment, it would certainly be proper and profitable to send there one of our vessels of war, as an American man-of-war has never yet, I believe, visited any of the Atlantic ports of Morocco, and these Moors consequently will not believe that we have any. This measure, by removing their doubts, would have a salutary effect; for our trade to that place and those ports has become considerable, and may be still more valuable as a market for many of our domestic manufactures; for the Moors already prefer them to English fabrics.

Morocco is a large and populous, and under an energetic and ambitious ruler, might be made a very powerful and dangerous empire to civilized and maritime states. It is a maxim in the government of the present sultan, as indeed it has been in that of many of his predecessors, to be at war with all maritime nations who have not secured a peace by a costly embassy to his court — made a regular treaty, and keep consular representatives constantly residing at Tangier. Not long since, finding a new flag afloat — the Austrian — and that no treaty existed with that nation, he suddenly fitted and sent out a number of corsairs, which soon returned with several Austrian merchantmen as prizes, whose crews she likewise held in slavery. In order to punish this aggression and affront, Austria immediately sent a squadron of vessels of war to cruise off *Larache*, with a view of destroying the town and little navy of Morocco. After bombarding the town, they sent a body of men in boats during the night, to effect

the object of destroying the Moorish navy. Many of the boats were capsized upon the bar, and the men on board of all were either drowned, shot, sabred, or taken prisoners by the Moors.

Austria, thus finding herself the greatest loser, was soon brought to terms, hastened to send a costly embassy to Morocco, concluded a treaty of peace, and now, with other maritime states, has her resident consul at Tangier.

I recount this circumstance to demonstrate in what way Morocco may become a formidable enemy to a commercial nation, both in the Mediterranean sea, and on the Atlantic ocean.

For the use of the State Department I offer the following sailing directions for the harbor of Mogadore: A vessel bound for Mogadore — *Swearah*, of the Moors — should make cape Cantin in latitude 32 deg. 25 min., longitude 9 deg. 5 min., running down past Saffi and the coast within five miles of the shore, with the sandy beach full in view, until the town of Mogadore, which is pretty large and white, with many steeples or minarets, is fairly in sight, and bearing E. S. E. by compass; then run in boldly for the town, until the island south of the town, which forms the harbor, and which is high and cannot be mistaken, is approached within three miles, where the channel, more than half a mile in width, perfectly clear, with nine and ten fathoms of water, between the north point of the island and a white fort on a point of rocks to the S. W. of the town, is fairly open. Then steer in midchannel under short sail, with your anchor ready to let go, and run down within two cables length of the north point of the island, until a breach in said island near its north end, (and which nearly separates and makes two islands of it,) is fairly open, and cast anchor in five or six fathoms, on good bottom.

The bay is clear and spacious; and from that station a frigate may easily work out the windward passage; while smaller vessels drawing not more than eighteen feet of water, may run out by a channel (to be sounded by the officer) around the south end of

the island, where merchant vessels generally pass when loaded and outward bound. A chart of this harbor by Sir Sidney Smith may be implicitly relied upon."

Pursuant to the suggestions contained in the foregoing communication, in the fall of 1833, the United States ship, JOHN ADAMS, touched at various Moorish ports of the Atlantic coast, and for the first time unfurled the "striped bunting" to the gaze of the incredulous Moors of Mogadore. The effect of this visit of the John Adams at Mogadore is thus noticed by Capt. Riley, writing from that place in January 1834. He says:

"The U. S. ship 'John Adams,' visited this place (Mogadore) in November last; and the visit was well received by the Moorish authorities. The officers of the ship were generally pleased with their visit, but staid only one day; being, as I think, in a most ridiculous hurry for home, like school-boys after their dinner. Capt. Voorhies, however, said that he would have been pleased could he have remained several days. This visit of our national vessel, brief though it was, has done much good. The Moors respect us the more for a show of force in their waters; and Mr. Willshire, our vice-consul, has obtained much higher consequence in their estimation by having been saluted from the first American ship of war ever in this roadstead."

The following account of the visit of the 'John Adams' is given with more particularity in a letter from Mr. Willshire to Capt. Riley:

"MOGADORE, 7th of Nov. 1833.

MY DEAR FRIEND: On the 5th inst. at 9 A. M. I was most agreeably surprised by the appearance, through a heavy fog, of a large vessel close in with the land, which proved to be the U. S. ship John Adams, Capt. P. F. Voorhies. A signal gun was fired

for a pilot, with the jack flying at the fore-topmast; and, as I was at the warehouse attending a loading going off, I ordered a boat off instantly. The John Adams kept tacking about until the Moorish boat was seen from the ship. But as the Moors would not approach to speak the vessel, Capt. Voorhies, very prudently came to anchor about a half a mile distant from the mouth of the bay. I had returned home to watch from the terrace the movements of the vessel. The Moorish boat having returned, I observed the lowering and manning the cutter alongside to come on shore. I therefore hastened to the water-side to receive the officers, among whom were the 1st and 2nd lieutenants, whom I introduced to the Governor, who appeared exceedingly anxious to learn the object of the visit; which, being explained to be one of national courtesy, and that it was the wish of Capt. Voorhies to salute with 17 guns, the governor seemed pleased, and gave his assurance that it would be returned from the batteries of the town.

At the request of the 1st lieutenant, I returned on board with him, and was most politely received by Capt. Voorhies and the other officers, to whom I was introduced. In a very short time the salute was fired from the vessel, which was duly returned from the batteries, and *one* gun extra.

On leaving the ship, accompanied by Capt. Voorhies, a salute of 8 guns was fired in honor of your humble servant; and when we reached the waterport I was much gratified to find that the governor had a guard of soldiers, under the command of the military governor, drawn up and lining each side of the waterport gate, to receive the captain; and by whom we were conducted into the presence of the governor, who received us with much politeness. After an interchange of compliments, and the interview being over, I had the pleasure of conducting Capt. Voorhies and officers to my humble residence, and the honor of their company to dinner. Previous to dining I accompanied Capt. Voorhies in a walk through the town.



- WILLIAM .

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VIEW OF MOGADORE.-No. 2.

About a month ago the Sheick of Wednoon wrote me that he had received information of six Christians being in the hands of the Arabs on the southern coast about the latitude of Cape Blanco, a distance of twenty-four days journey: that two of the party had died, making exactly the number of unfortunate beings for whom I was seeking. Upon the receipt of this information I despatched a courier instantly to the sheick, who in reply to my letter informs me that he had sent off a trusty Moor to purchase them from the Arabs. In my letter I did not name a price, my present object being to get the captives near me, when I can the better negotiate for their ransom. I can scarcely expect to see the poor men up here in less than three months, even if so soon. I should be very happy to have you (Capt. Riley) here to interrogate them in their own language, respecting their sufferings and the face of the desert traveled over. What delight the poor men will experience on seeing their names written in a language they can read, and directions to follow the orders of the bearer of my note!

I remain ever sincerely, my dear friend,

Your most devoted servant,

WM. WILLSHIRE.

To Capt. JAMES RILEY."

With a cargo of wool, skins and gums, Capt. Riley sailed from Mogadore for New York about the middle of February, 1834, and without accident arrived at his port of destination the last of March following.

CHAPTER VII.

Capt. Riley continues his commerce with African ports — Brings to the U. States a lion and two Arabian horses, designed by the Emperor of Morocco as presents to the President — His treatment by U. S. dignitaries — His correspondence with Mr. Forsythe, Sam'l Swartwout, and others.

CAPT. RILEY having discharged his cargo at New York, without delay began his preparations for another voyage ; and speedily took on board a cargo for Gibraltar and Mogadore. In May of 1834 he again sailed for those ports, and arrived at Gibraltar on the 25th of June following. But that place being then infected with the Asiatic cholera, he merely landed his passengers bound for that port, without discharging any part of his cargo. Through the agency of Mr. Sprague, on shore, he however received on board some specie and wines, being the avails of his former cargo into that port ; and on the 6th of July sailed thence for Mogadore, where he arrived the 12th of the same month. On the same day, before landing, he received the following communication from the resident Consular Agents, written by Mr. Willshire :

“ **MOGADORE, 12th July, 1834.**

Capt. JAMES RILEY, of
American Brig Wm. Tell :

SIR,—I beg to assure you that every consideration has been given to the tenor of the Bill of Health, and to the certified extract of a letter received from E. W. A. Drummond Hay, Esq., dated the 28th June, ult., which you delivered upon your arrival ; and it is with sincere regret that I inform you, that myself and colleagues, acting upon the order received from the Board of

Health at Tangier, cannot admit you to receive *pratique* ; nor yet do we feel authorized to impose a quarantine, in conformity with the terms of said letter, it having been determined that the communication you had with Gibraltar during your stay, as noted in your Bill of Health, precludes us from giving you the benefits of considering you as not having had communication with that place, in the sense we hold it to mean.

I am further instructed to acquaint you, on the part of my colleagues, that although our orders are peremptory to order away immediately all vessels bringing a foul Bill of Health ; in consideration of the above document, you will be permitted to remain in this bay for seven days, under strict quarantine, if you think it prudent to wait that period in the chance of some more favorable regulations arriving from Tangier. At the same time, I strongly recommend to you to get under weigh and proceed to that port ; where, upon your arrival, and sending your Bill of Health on shore, a meeting of the Consular Sanitary Corps would be immediately called, and a decision on your particular case can be obtained, and upon which you can act with certainty.

I remain, Sir, your most ob't serv't,

WM. WILLSHIRE,

Acting in the name and behalf of Self and Colleagues."

Pursuant to the suggestion of Mr. Willshire, in the foregoing communication, Capt. Riley subsequently sailed for Tangier.

The following is his memorandum of this visit to that place :

Mogadore, July 12, 1834.— Arrived in the brig William Tell, 6 days from Gibraltar — visited by the health boat, who took our Bill of Health, carried it on shore, and returned in six hours with orders to quit the port. We remained however till the 14th, at 5 o'clock in the morning. We then got under weigh and made sail for Tangier, in order to consult those *Christian* dignitaries,

deemed all-powerful, and styled Consuls General, representing the principal European governments. Those functionaries, having associated their wisdom in common stock, had in solemn assembly decreed the non-admission into the Empire of Morocco of any vessel coming from a port where *cholera spasmodica* was supposed to exist. From the 14th to the 20th, we were beating up against a heavy gale at N. N. E. direct ahead. On the 20th of July, at 2 o'clock, P. M., we came to anchor in Tangier Roads—the town bearing W. N. W., distant two miles. Visited by the health boat and told to come on shore; went at 4 P. M., and landed on the sand beach, where a few posts were set in the sand and a small line stretched between them; the posts formed two lines about ten feet asunder and next the sea. I stood in an oblong square of about thirty yards long, and there was met by J. R. Leib, Esq., on the inside of the two lines nearest the city walls. I had previously known Mr. Leib at Gibraltar. He wanted to know my reasons for coming, and where I came from; and after some other such polite and gentlemanly interrogatories, he declared that he was “*deliberately* glad to see me.” I then took a mallet and chisel, and on a wooden block cut two holes quite through each letter and document, to be sent into the town, and then threw them into an earthen basin of black vinegar, together with my Bills of Health, my petition to the consuls, a letter to Mr. Leib, and one to Mr. Hay, British Consul General; and was told to call again at 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Monday, July 21st.—At eight I went on shore, and soon found our consul, Mr. Leib, who stated that he had been occupied all night in translating my letter and petition into Spanish; and that he was now going to send them to the French Consul General, who was, for this month, the president, and who would circulate them among the *dignitaries*; and he hoped that, in the course of the day, a decision would be had; that he himself had written a strong letter in my behalf, and sent it along with them.

He moreover informed me, that he was at dinner when I came into port yesterday, and consequently did not see my vessel until she was anchored, and was boarded by the boat. He stated, furthermore, that he was going to spend the day in the country, at Mount Washington, with some friends; and that, *if he got back early enough*, and should receive the answer from the consuls, he would set me a signal to come again on shore and learn the result. So this high functionary, instead of attending to my despatches in person, sends them to the foreign consuls, and leaves the town on a pleasure party, disregarding his duties to his countrymen! Got some melons, and corn for the fowls, and returned on board, to brood over the conduct of Mr. Leib!

Tuesday, 22d. — Early in the morning I went on shore, and having filed my affidavit that I had not communicated with any vessel since leaving New York, was admitted to pratique; and went into the city. At 10 A. M. Mr. Consul Leib arrived in town, having been absent on a pleasure party since yesterday morning. Many Moors and Jews I found waiting to trade for portions of the cargo, of which I gave them a list of articles and prices.

Wednesday, 23d. — I sold the cotton, at \$20 per quintal, clear of duty, to a Moor of the custom-house, payable in Spanish gold doubloons. I sold the pepper at \$10 per quintal, and landed the cotton and the pepper. Contracted to sell 10 boxes of tea, at \$1.50 per pound, on board; all sold clear of duty.

Thursday and Friday, 24th and 25th. — Busy in delivering goods sold; sold my coffee at \$16 per quintal.

Saturday, 26th. — I this day contracted with Mr. Leib to carry home to the U. S. the lion and the two Arabian horses, presented by the Emperor of Morocco to the President of the U. States.

Sunday, 27th. — Fine weather; a great holyday this among the Moors. On this day they circumcised all the children who had come to the age of eight years. Several thousands of Moors

came into town from the surrounding country — hundreds of them on fine horses, and thousands on asses, mules and camels, and many on foot — men, women and children; every man armed with his long Moorish musket, and his athagan, or dagger. All went to church, said their prayers, finished their rites of circumcision, and then spent the afternoon in riding, shooting, running, and other exercises of a joyous nature, accompanied by flutes, drums, and other instruments; altogether it had a pleasing effect on both eye and ear. About sun-set all the mountaineers set out for their country homes.

Monday, July 28 — Having made suitable preparation, we received on board, his majesty, the lion, and the two horses, as presents from the Emperor to our President. The lion was truly a noble specimen of his race; we put him in his cage, on deck; the horses we put on the ballast below, after covering it well with cut straw. At the urgent request of Mr. Consul Leib, acting on the part, and, as he said, by authority and direction of the U. S. Government, I had purchased the two horses on my own account, stipulating to convey them to the United States. The money for the sales I had made, began to be paid. A considerable commotion now prevails in the city, from a most trifling circumstance: In the afternoon of yesterday, a stone of some weight fell on the head of a Moorish saint, or idiot, in one of the streets of Tangier; and although some of the Christians at the French Consul's house saw a Moorish boy throw it against a Jew's house, whence it rebounded, and fell upon the Moorish saint, or idiot; and as neither Jew nor Christian testimony can be trusted or received against a Moor, it was soon determined by the Governor that the Jews had done it; and in order to keep that race duly in awe and subjection, a fine of about \$2000 was imposed upon them, to be paid to-day. From this judgment there was no appeal. Some of the wealthiest took refuge in the houses of the different Consuls. About forty of the most influential that remained, were

seized, and thrown into prison, and chained by the neck and legs to the walls, until they should pay the fine. Their mothers, wives, and daughters threw themselves at the feet of the different Consuls, begging them to intercede with the Governor, to induce him to take off the chains. Among others, a Jewess, wife of a Rabbi of influence, attended by a beautiful and blooming daughter about sixteen years of age, called on our Consul, Mr. Leib, entreating him, in the most piteous manner, to interfere in her husband's behalf, merely so far as to have the Rabbi's irons taken off; offering him, as an inducement, ample gifts, their everlasting gratitude, and finally proffering him their daughter! Moved by these pressing appeals of female tears, and virgin charms, *our* Consul sent his interpreter (a smart Virginia quadroon, who came out here with Mr. Consul Maloney, when a child, and who speaks the Arabic admirably,) to the Governor, with thanks for his kindness in allowing the lion and horses to be embarked, and begging for the poor Rabbi a release from his irons; and had the satisfaction, about two hours after, of receiving a visit from the Governor's soldier, to say that he had knocked off the irons with his own hand, to oblige his honor, the Consul; whereupon said Consul was, of course, in his opinion, fully entitled to his *quid pro quo*!

Tuesday, July 29 — Procured the balance of the sales of my goods, and prepared for sea, destined to Swearah. I went and examined what quantity of wool could be found in Tangier. I found several hundred bales ready packed. I purchased one hundred bales at \$10 per quintal. At meridian, I fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns, having hoisted the French flag in honor of the French revolution of July 27th, 28th and 29th, which was here observed as holydays by the Consuls.

The animals shipped at Tangier by Capt. Riley, being the finest specimens of their respective species, were of great value, and constituted a gift well worthy of an Emperor. But in consequence of the clause of our constitution prohibiting the receipt of

presents from foreign powers to the officers of our government, those animals had been ordered to be sold in Africa on account of the United States. This order, it would seem, bears date of May 20th, 1834, as will be seen by the following receipt from the hand of Mr. Leib, United States Consul at Tangier, the official agent of our government to whom this business was confided, and who sold the same and receipted for the purchase money in his official character, pursuant to the order of his government.* While at Tangier, finding that the horses were for sale, and being pressed by Mr. Leib to purchase them on his own private account, Capt. Riley, on the 28th of July, 1834, as before noted, bought them, and paid the price thereof to the U. S. agent, Consul Leib, as the following receipt fully shows :

“ U. S. CONSULATE, TANGIER, July 28, 1834.

Received of Captain James Riley, the sum of *Three Hundred Dollars*, in full payment for *two horses*, late the property of the United States, and sold by order of the Department of State under date of May 20, 1834 ; he (James Riley) declaring his intention of transporting said horses to the United States, with a view of introducing the breed into that country ; upon which assurance they have been thus sold, and this day shipped on board the brig William Tell, now in the harbor of Tangier.

JAMES R. LEIB,

\$300. U. S. Consul for the Empire of Morocco.”

The following statement of *individual* account made between Capt. Riley and Consul Leib, also shows the fact that the horses had been purchased by Capt. Riley, and shipped on his private account, as a portion of his vessel's freight ; and he is accordingly

* *Quære de hoc* — Had Congress at that time authorized any such disposition of those animals ? We think not.

charged with the expense of shipping them, and materials for their use, furnished by Mr. Leib to Capt. Riley.

ACCOUNT WITH CAPT. RILEY.

TANGIER, July 29, 1834.

James R. Leib, to Capt. James Riley, Dr.

To 50 lbs. gunpowder, at 37½c. per lb.,	-	-	-	\$18 75
To 1 bag coffee,	-	-	-	16 00
				<u>\$34 75</u>

Capt Riley, to J. R. Leib, Dr.

Visit of health boat,	-	-	-	\$8 00
On account of board of health,	-	-	-	2 20
<i>Shipping the horses,</i>	-	-	-	6 00
6 loads straw for do.	-	-	-	1 00
16 lbs. almonds and barley,	-	-	-	2 60
				<u>19 80</u>
Balance due Capt. Riley,	-	-	-	<u>\$14 95</u>

Thus, it is abundantly evident that Capt. Riley became possessed of those horses in his individual capacity as part owner of the brig, in a legal and legitimate manner, by a fair business transaction between competent parties. The result of this *investment* will appear in the sequel of this voyage.

Having shipped his wool purchased at Tangier, Capt. Riley sailed for Mogadore, carrying on board clean bills of health. He arrived at Mogadore on the 3d of August; and having completed his cargo from that port, he sailed for New York on the 23d of September, 1834, where he arrived on the first of November following.

Upon his arrival at New York, the announcement was made by the papers of the day, that he had on board the famous African lion, and the celebrated Arabian horses, presented by the Emperor of Morocco to the President of the United States; and

vast multitudes of people thronged the wharf, and crowded on board to get a view of those noted animals. On the 4th of November, but two days after Capt. Riley's arrival in port, Mr. Holland Nicholl, a merchant in the city, came on board, and, as was shown by the testimony of the mate, Mr. Raphael Aitken, then offered Capt. Riley *Five Thousand Dollars*, cash in hand, for the two horses ; but to the surprise of all, and indignation of many, by order of the Department of State of the United States, he was refused permission to land them ; and on the 6th of November, the U. S. Marshal for that District went on board and seized the horses by virtue of a writ issued from the U. S. District Court, summoning Capt. Riley to appear and answer to the United States for "taking and unlawfully detaining two certain horses, *the property* of the United States." !

These circumstances of hardship and injustice, implicating, as of course they must, Capt. Riley's integrity and commercial reputation, excited in his mind feelings by no means the most amiable towards those officials by whose blundering management, (calling their procedure by no harsher term) this unpleasant and uncalled for proceeding had been instituted against him. For, supposing himself the legal and proper owner of the horses, as by the terms of the foregoing contract with the U. S. Agent at Tangier, he was certainly justified in supposing the present procedure on the part of his government could be regarded in no other light than a contemptible shuffling between public functionaries, to rid themselves of a responsibility which they had most indiscreetly assumed ; and for which Capt. Riley was, in no conceivable manner, accountable. Subsequently to the time that the permit for landing the horses was refused at the Custom House in New York, and before the seizure of them by the U. S. Marshal, Capt. Riley addressed a letter to the Department of State at Washington, making a full statement of the circumstances of his purchase of the horses from the U. S. Agent in Tangier ; that he had shipped

and transported them as his own, after paying the purchase money for them in Morocco ; and requested to be informed why he had been refused the permit to land them from his vessel.

This communication was written on the first of November ; on the 6th of the same month the marshal went on board, seized the horses, and summoned Capt. Riley to appear and answer "for the *unlawful* taking and detaining" the property of the U. States. A day or two after the seizure, Capt. Riley received the following communication from the Department of State :

" DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
November 4, 1834.

Capt. JAMES RILEY, New York,

To the care of the Collector of the Customs :

SIR,—In answer to your letter of the 1st instant, I have to inform you, that in selling the horses, Mr. Leib acted under a misconception of his instructions. From what is known of your character, it is presumed that when this fact is mentioned, you will be willing to give up the horses to the United States, on receiving a fair compensation for their passage, and that of the lion, and attendants, etc. Indeed, it is supposed that this course will be quite as agreeable to you as to retain them ; since it appears, by your letter, that you offered to give passage to the whole for a certain sum, and that you purchased them only in consequence of being urged by the Consul to do so.

You are requested, therefore, to deliver the horses to the Collector, who is authorized to settle with you for the freight.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN FORSYTHE."

The foregoing disavowal, by Mr. Forsythe, of the act of the government agent, in a contract, in relation to business wholly

within his province and entirely entrusted to him as such agent, with a third person, ignorant of the extent and particulars of that agency, only as he was informed by the agent himself, who set forth in his receipt the date of the authority under which he acted, after the third person had paid \$300 of his money to the government agent, and incurred the risk and expense of shipping and transporting these animals from one continent to another,—this disavowal and rescinding of a contract, under such circumstances, is certainly a novelty in jurisprudence worthy of a separate chapter in books of legal lore. And the proposition for settlement, made by the Department of State in the foregoing communication, could, at best, be considered as but little less than an insult! It was not a proposition to reinstate the party in his condition at the time of the contract, (which, indeed, could not in this case by any possibility be done,) but the proposition was to pay their *freight* and attendance simply, without refunding to Capt. Riley the \$300 by him expended as the purchase money for the horses. This was, forsooth, to be his loss, because Mr. Consul Leib, the agent of the government, “acted under a misconception of his instructions!” Thus visiting the sins and blunders of the government functionary upon the head of an innocent purchaser and a private citizen, who of course had no method of informing himself of the peculiar “instructions” which the Consul himself, it seems, could not comprehend. The truth of the matter, doubtless, was this: After the horses had been ordered to be sold in Tangier, and before Congress had assembled or taken any action thereon, doubts of a very portentous character had arisen as to the constitutionality of the officers of government thus *receiving*, and exercising this kind of ownership over, the presents from a foreign potentate to the President. In consequence of these doubts, they were prepared, immediately upon Capt. Riley’s casting anchor, to seize the horses, which they knew he had bought, and, *under color* of law, to reclaim them into the possession of the United States by

the time Congress should assemble, which period was then close at hand. But more in relation to this supposition hereafter.

Upon the receipt of the foregoing letter from Mr. Forsythe, then Secretary of State for the United States, without tarrying to make his defence in the court to which he had been summoned; not even waiting to discharge his cargo, as his partners and legal advisers urged him to do, Capt. Riley at once set out for Washington City, with a determination of investigating the reasons for this unwarranted procedure against him. Immediately upon his arrival at Washington, he addressed a line to the Secretary containing a proposition to compromise this unpleasant matter. The following is a copy of the note sent to the Secretary:

“ WASHINGTON, Nov. 16, 1834.

SIR: I purchased at Tangier, from James R. Leib, U. S. Consul for the Empire of Morocco, two Arabian horses, which were by me, and at my cost and risk, brought to the port of New York, on the 1st instant. I have now to inform you, that those horses were forcibly seized and taken from on board my vessel, by the U. S. Marshal, on the 6th inst., as he states, by virtue of a writ of replevin, charging me with having taken and detained them from the United States unlawfully.

Now, sir, my bringing both of those horses, which are my property, and the lion for the United States, into this country, has alone made them valuable; and the United States has claimed and seized my horses, having, on my part, received nothing for transporting those animals, their keepers, food, etc. etc., to this country. I am unwilling to contend at law, and, having confidence in your sense of justice and the integrity of our worthy President, permit me to offer to compromise this most unpleasant business. I therefore propose to accept, in consideration of my right to said horses, \$2500; and to relinquish all claims for transporting the animals to the United States, and to all damages

I have sustained by their forcible seizure. Permit me further to state, that the horses would have brought me, on my arrival at New York, \$5,000, in cash; and that, that sum was actually offered me by a responsible and respectable citizen.

Forced to labor on the high seas for my subsistence, I trust that my offer of compromise may be considered, as it really is, a proof of my desire to render any service in my power to the government.

With great consideration,

I am your ob't serv't,

JAMES RILEY.

Hon. JOHN FORSYTHE,

Sec'y of State of the United States."

Very soon after this, a personal interview with the President and Secretary, in relation to this subject, was had; at which interview, undefined assurances of full satisfaction were tendered to Capt. Riley; encouraging him to trust himself entirely upon the justice and liberality of the Department, accompanied with a delicate suggestion of appointing him to the office of Commissioner, on the part of the United States government, to negotiate a renewal of the commercial treaty with the Empire of Morocco—the former treaty being then about to expire by its own terms of limitation.

This topic will be more particularly alluded to hereafter, and the circumstances attending the appointment, which was subsequently made, more fully set forth. During this interview, assurances were given that he should be liberally paid for the shipment, transportation and expense of the animals brought from Africa in his vessel, upon presenting his bill of items to the collector of the customs at New York, stating (as mentioned in the foregoing letter of the Secretary) that the collector had been authorized to make a settlement for the freight, upon his surrendering his claim to the horses. Reposing confidently upon the faith of these assurances, he therefore returned to New York,

and gave attention once more to the affairs of his vessel, and proceeded to discharge his cargo. It may here be remarked, that his vessel was sold, on the 2d Dec. 1834, to the house of Rossier & Co. After having arranged his affairs in relation to vessel and cargo, Capt. Riley presented his bill to the collector of customs at New York, as he had been desired to do by the Secretary of State, and the payment thereof was refused, not from any incorrectness in the bill, but for *want of authority* so to do from the Secretary of State. Capt. Riley being thus condemned to further disappointment and vexation, besides loss of time and money, immediately addressed the following communication to the Secretary :

“ NEW YORK, Dec. 15, 1834.

SIR : On my return from Washington, where I had the honor of conferring with you on the subject of the horses which I had bought from Mr. Consul Leib, and brought to this country as part of the cargo of the brig Wm. Tell, Messrs. W. & D. D. Swift of this city, half owners of the brig and cargo, demanded from me \$2,500, in cash ; that sum being the one half of \$5,000, which sum was offered to myself and them for the purchase of those horses, while on board the brig, by Holland Nicholl, Esq. of this city.

Waiving all claims for my own share, I made out a bill, amounting to \$2500, to satisfy them for the freight and expenses of the lion and the horses, for which I have received nothing, and handed, agreeably to your wishes, to the collector of this port, and am still awaiting his decision. Messrs. Swifts now threaten me with a suit at law to recover the \$2500, because I omitted to pursue our claim to the horses before the United States District Court here, as I was summoned to do, on the first Tuesday of this month, alledging that I have thus legally assumed the debt. My law-advisers think me liable ; and, being so, if I had the money

I should have paid it without troubling you. But as I have not, and dread the mazes and expenses of the law, permit me, Sir, to recall the subject to your consideration and decision. * * *

I have the honor to be

Your friend and most ob't serv't,

JAMES RILEY."

To this communication he received no reply; and in the month of January, 1835, he found himself under the necessity of again repairing to Washington City. This was now rendered necessary inasmuch as the session of the District court to which he had been cited to appear had now passed; and relying upon the former full assurances of the Secretary of State, he had omitted to appear and prosecute his claim for the horses before that tribunal, and his defence was consequently gone. He had now nothing to rely upon but the justice and generosity of the secretary, who had previously to this informed him that the collector at New York had been authorized to settle his claim; and finding this statement of the secretary to be erroneous, and receiving no reply to his communication making known this fact, he was obliged to seek indemnity for his losses before the Department itself. Upon his arrival at Washington he again addressed the secretary under date of January 28, 1835, and received the following *cool* communication in reply:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, Jan. 30, 1835.

SIR: Your letter of the 28th inst. has been received at this Department: Samuel Swartwout, Esq., the collector of New York, having been instructed to pay you for the transportation of the horses from Morocco, it is proper that any application for money on account of that service, should be made to him.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN FORSYTHE."

On the same day Capt. Riley communicated the substance of the foregoing letter from Mr. Forsythe, to Samuel Swartwout, the collector at New York, requesting of him the payment of his claim, pursuant to the information given him by the secretary ; at the same time giving Mr. Swartwout instruction as to the method of making the payment in Capt. Riley's absence. To this communication Mr. Swartwout made the following reply :

“ NEW YORK, 2nd February, 1835.

DEAR SIR : I regret my inability to comply at once with the request contained in your letter of the 30th ult., which was received this morning. I have, however, written by this day's mail to the secretary, *requesting his instructions* on the subject ; and I do not doubt but I *shall* receive his authority to pay your bill without further delay ; and I assure you that such orders will be attended to with great pleasure.

I am, sir, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL SWARTWOUT, *Collector*.

CAPT. JAMES RILEY.”

This was received by Capt. Riley in Washington on the 6th of February ; and on the 8th he addressed the following to Mr. Swartwout, enclosing a copy of the letter before received from Mr. Forsythe :

“ WASHINGTON, Feb. 8, 1835.

SAMUEL SWARTWOUT, ESQ. :

SIR : Your favor of the 2nd inst. was duly received ; and as you were so kind as to say you shall take pleasure in paying my bill when properly instructed, I send you Governor Forsythe's letter to me on the subject, received the day after I wrote my former letter to you, setting forth the views of the State Department. In the event that you conclude to pay, I have to request

as before, that you send me \$200, and place the balance to my credit, giving me leave to draw for the amount ; and in either case, to write me your determination, so that I may have that for my government in this *singular business*.

With much regard and esteem,

I have the honor to remain,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES RILEY."

This affair had now assumed the aspect of what Capt. Riley emphatically styled it, a "*singular business*."

Mr. Swartwout then, hard pressed by the Secretary's letter forwarded by Capt. Riley, corresponded with the Department, and subsequently received the following order for the payment of money out of the funds in the United States custom house by the Secretary of State ; by what authority does not anywhere appear. On the 20th of February, Capt. Riley received at Washington City, the following communication from Mr. Swartwout, containing the subjoined copy of the order in favor of Capt. Riley from the Department of State :

"NEW YORK, 17th February, 1835.

DEAR SIR: I received a letter from the State Department *this day*, and hasten to send you a copy of it. I am now ready to pay you the amount authorized by Government, and am most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL SWARTWOUT, *Collector*.

CAPT. JAMES RILEY."

[COPY.]

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 14, 1835.

SIR: After reading your letter to the Department of the 9th inst., it is concluded to allow Capt. Riley for the freight of the

horses from Tangier, double the amount which, according to your statement, would have been charged for their transportation from Liverpool in a packet ship. You are authorized, therefore, to pay him \$532 80 for their expenses, "including all expenses for forage, stable, groom, and freight;" and the further sum of \$300, as mentioned in a former letter from the Department, for the transportation of the lion, with his keepers, etc.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN FORSYTHE.

To SAMUEL SWARTWOUT, Esq.

Thus it is manifest, that up to this period there had, in fact, been no authority given to the collector to pay Capt. Riley's claim; and the only order to that effect, is the above, bearing date of Feb. 14, 1835, though he had been assured that such authority had been given in Nov. 1834; and upon the faith of this assurance, had been sent from Washington to New York, omitted his defence to the suit at law, and was thus subjected to liability to his partners for their interest in the horses as joint owners thereof. And finally, when the order was given for payment to him from the New York custom house, no mention is made of the \$300, money by him paid for the horses in Tangier, which went into the hands of the government, and there remains to this day, without the offer of remuneration to Capt. Riley.

Indignant at this evident hollow-heartedness, and chagrined at the "cat's-paw" capacity in which he had been used by those in whose honor and assurances he had implicitly confided, as well as irritated by the heavy losses to which this *mala fides* and duplicity of government agents had subjected him, he immediately addressed the following communication to the Secretary of State :

“ WASHINGTON, Feb. 20, 1835.

HON. JOHN FORSYTHE:

SIR: I have just received a letter under date of 17th inst. from the collector of New York, in which he informs me that the Department of State has determined to pay me \$532 80, for passage of the horses from Morocco, and including all their expenses; and for bringing the lion, \$300; in all \$832 80, and that this sum is at my disposal.

It would have given me the most sincere pleasure not to have troubled you further upon this most unpleasant subject; and as far as my own interest is concerned, I would most cheerfully have given my share of the horses to the President, and of the lion, to aid the orphan asylum of the District of Columbia. This question, however, assumes a different aspect altogether, when I am acting for the interests of the joint owners of the brig in which I brought those animals to this country. When at Tangier, acting for myself and them, I bought and paid the money for the horses, at the earnest request of Mr. Consul Leib, who sold them, as he states in his official bill of sale, by order of the Department of State, under date of May 20, 1834. After which sale, I agreed to carry the lion for \$300, and received the animals from him; the horses were therefore a portion of the brig's cargo, and at the risk of the owners; and had they been injured, or died on their passage, the loss must have been ours. And in offering Mr. Leib to bring all the animals for \$1000, I was to have had the money for their freight paid to me at Tangier, there to invest in the purchase of other articles for cargo, likely to bring in this country \$2000 at least.

You are aware, sir, that on my arrival at New York, after duly entering our horses at the custom house as part of our cargo, we were refused a permit to land them, by order of the Department of State; and that before I had received your answer to my letter on the subject, the marshal of New York had forcibly

seized upon and borne away the horses from on board my vessel ; leaving me a summons to appear before the District Court in New York, on the first Tuesday of December, 1834, to answer to the United States for taking and detaining two certain horses. Before this period, Mr. Holland Nicholl and Mr. Stevens had been on board the brig and offered to purchase the horses, and to give for the two, \$5000, at half an hour's notice. This offer, of course, fixed the value of the horses at that time with Messrs. W. & D. D. Swift, my joint owners.

With feelings strongly wrought upon, I came immediately to this city, where I had an interview with you, sir, and after a full explanation, agreed to throw myself upon your generosity at your own request ; and upon the assurance that the Collector of the port of New York should be *instructed to settle with me liberally*, the subject rested. Having, as I then presumed, settled this affair, I returned to New York and waited upon the Collector, who had not the power, as he said, to settle with me, and desired me to make out a bill against the government. This I did, and waited until after the session of the court to which I was cited to appear and answer to the United States, which had charged me (almost) *with felony* — for buying and transporting two horses from Tangier, in Africa, to the United States, for no consideration ! When my joint owners required of me \$2500, one-half of the value of those horses, being their portion, and threatened me with a suit at law, to recover that amount, because I had refused through motives of delicacy to my government, and according to my promise to yourself sir, as Secretary of State, to claim or sue for the horses, or their value, from those who had violently seized upon our property, and finding myself liable, I came on here in December, and gave you the information.

Now, sir, bringing those horses and the lion from Africa to America, has imparted to them nearly all their value ; and I only request of your sense of justice, that you pay me for my joint

owners their one-half, amounting to \$2500, and I will submit as best I may to my own losses, of both time and money ; and thus this unpleasant business shall be ended. To this proposition, may I hope for an early reply ?

I am, most respectfully, your ob't servant,

JAMES RILEY."

To this communication no attention was paid, and thus the affair with the Department terminated.

About the 1st of March, 1835, Capt. Riley returned to New York, disgusted with the duplicity which he had experienced in this matter at the hands of high public functionaries, which had caused him a positive loss of not less than \$5000, besides much valuable time, and great anxiety of mind. In order more entirely to satisfy himself on the subject of his right to the horses, he subsequently, while at Mogadore, under date of May 6, 1835, addressed a letter to Mr. Leib, informing him of the circumstances, and requesting from him a copy of the order from the Department of State for the sale of the horses, and under which they were sold, as alluded to in the copy of Mr. Leib's receipt to Capt. Riley, before copied. To this letter he received the following reply from Mr. Leib, which serves still further to show that this proceeding by the officers of the government against Capt. Riley, was not founded in propriety, nor directed in good faith.

" GIBRALTAR, May 28, 1835.

JAMES RILEY, Esq. :

Dear Sir : I have before me your letter dated Mogadore, May 6, 1835. Your former letter from New York, transmitted by Abraham Acris, was duly received.

Permit me to return you my thanks for your friendly services in endeavoring to direct the attention of eminent men at Washington to the necessity of some increase in the provision for the

U. S. Agents in Barbary. Now that the Navy bill has passed, and the pay of officers of the same rank has been greatly augmented, I do not well see how the government can withhold from us a similar compensation.

The affair of the horses, so far as you were concerned, caused me some chagrin. The order from the Department certainly justified me fully in my proceeding. *But it appears that in the interval between that and the arrival of the animals in America, doubts had arisen respecting the constitutionality of the President's disposing of property of the United States without the intervention of Congress.* Accordingly, the animals were taken from you, and placed at the disposal of the General Government; and *the Executive Department, according to the universal policy of Cabinets, justifies itself in reflecting upon its agents!*

The copy which you request of Mr. McLane's order, I cannot furnish, as it is out of all diplomatic rule to promulgate official papers without sanction; and such proceeding on my part would justly incur the censure of the Department. Besides, you will be convinced, upon reflection, that, as the business has terminated, to call it up again at this time could serve no good end; and I certainly believe that no reasonable person would reflect on you for asserting a claim, *in which you have my full authority to say THAT YOU WERE COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED.*

With perfect consideration,

I remain as ever, your friend and servant,

JAMES R. LEIB."

The statements made by Mr. Consul Leib in his letter to Capt. Riley, show beyond "all lingering of doubt," that the proceeding against him by the government, was instituted to cover and conceal official blunders in the highest functionaries of the government; and thus, too, the time, property, and reputation of a private citizen were bandied about and injured without the poor

recompense of offering an apology, or condescending to the common civility of replying to a respectful communication from the injured party.

The horses were subsequently sold in this country by order of Congress : one sold for \$1205, the other for \$860 ; both amounting to the sum of \$2065, at public sale..

Finding that nothing could be gained by any further attention to this business, and that he had nothing to hope for from the prosecution of his claims before the Department to indemnify him for the losses thus sustained, he at once and entirely abandoned the whole subject, and applied himself the more industriously to his commercial affairs.

CHAPTER VIII.

Capt. Riley sails for Mogadore — Asiatic Cholera — Seizure of a Piratical Vessel — Letter to Aaron Vail — Arrives at New York — Letter to Major Donnellson — Arabian horse 'Mazyoubé' — Another voyage to Mogadore — Tobacco speculations — Commercial correspondence — Letter to C. C. Cambreling — Treaty with Morocco — Letter to Gen. Tipton, and reply — Capt. Riley visits France for medical aid.

As mentioned in the foregoing chapter, the brig Wm. Tell, on the 2d of December, 1834, changed owners: Messrs. W. & D. D. Swift, the former joint owners of the brig with Capt. Riley, transferred their interest in the vessel to Messrs. A. C. Rossiere & Co., with whom Capt. Riley, from that time, continued in business throughout the remainder of his life. They subsequently employed in the Mogadore trade, (which had been opened to this country entirely by Capt. Riley's enterprize,) and with other ports, three other brigs besides the Wm. Tell, viz: the brigs "America," "Oscar," and "Glide." In connexion with those gentlemen, Capt. Riley's interest prospered in an eminent degree; and although their commercial transactions while thus associated in business amounted to more than *one million of dollars*, and although their partnership affairs were necessarily of a complicated character, yet in all his transactions with those gentlemen, not the slightest difficulty ever arose, nor was a single dollar ever left unaccounted for between them. Through all the time of their association, Capt. Riley, in communications to his family and friends, speaking of those gentlemen, characterizes them as men of the highest honor, and the most scrupulous integrity of character; and they are still remembered and mentioned by the fam-



CHAPTER VIII.

THE next morning, the first of August, the wind was from the north-east, and the sea was very rough. The ship was ordered to anchor in the bay, and the crew were ordered to get ready for a storm.

The ship was anchored in the bay, and the crew were ordered to get ready for a storm. The wind was from the north-east, and the sea was very rough. The ship was ordered to anchor in the bay, and the crew were ordered to get ready for a storm. The wind was from the north-east, and the sea was very rough. The ship was ordered to anchor in the bay, and the crew were ordered to get ready for a storm.

In the evening, the ship was ordered to anchor in the bay, and the crew were ordered to get ready for a storm. The wind was from the north-east, and the sea was very rough. The ship was ordered to anchor in the bay, and the crew were ordered to get ready for a storm. The wind was from the north-east, and the sea was very rough. The ship was ordered to anchor in the bay, and the crew were ordered to get ready for a storm.

A. C. ROBBIER, ESQ.,
MERCHANT OF NEW YORK.

ily of Capt. Riley, with feelings of the deepest gratitude, and the most profound respect. The portrait of Mr. Rossiere is still retained in the family of Capt. Riley; and is regarded with great veneration, as the likeness of him who was the fast friend of their father, and the benefactor of the family.

During his stay at Washington, Capt. Riley, after the arrangements were concluded making Messrs. Rossiere & Co. coöwners of the brig Wm. Tell, freighted and despatched that vessel to Trieste, under the command of Capt. White. Upon his return from Washington in March, 1835, the Wm. Tell, not having returned from her voyage to Trieste, they bought the brig America for the Mogadore trade, and, on the first of April, this vessel sailed with a cargo for Africa. Capt. Riley went out in command of that vessel. He arrived at Mogadore, on the 8d of May, 1835; and having discharged his cargo, proceeded immediately to load the brig with wool, goat skins and gums. While at Mogadore he found the traces of the Asiatic cholera still lingering there, the whole coast having been scourged by the ravages of this terrible pestilence. Capt. Riley thus speaks of the devastations of this disease :

“ The cholera has raged with great desperation in all the principal cities and towns of this Empire during the last 7 months, carrying off great numbers of the inhabitants, and, for a time, stopping all trade whatever, and almost all communication between places. This scourge visited this place (Mogadore) but a few weeks before I arrived, and carried off many of the old and infirm and some children, both of Moors and Jews. The poor suffered most severely; and when I arrived, and for two weeks after, a few scattering cases and deaths occurred daily. But this plague seems now to have been stayed by the hand of a kind Providence, both here and at Morocco; while at Jaffa it carries on its devastations, and has already taken one in ten of the whole population.”

The *America* was despatched with her cargo of wool, etc. from Mogadore, on the 4th of June, 1835, for New York ; Capt. Riley however remained at Mogadore, and the brig sailed under command of Capt. Robinson. While at Mogadore, after the *America* had sailed, Capt. Riley became acquainted with a very singular piratical affair, which, as the persons implicated subsequently sailed for Tangier, he communicated to our Consul, Mr. Leib, in a letter written under date of June 16th, 1835. Capt. Riley writes thus :

“ You may have learned, perhaps, that a New York built pilot-boat schooner, arrived here some time since with about 40 Portuguese on board. Being interrogated, they pretended to have touched here for water and provisions, as they said, on their voyage from the Cape De Verd Islands to Portugal or Spain. When coming to anchor, an Italian captain went alongside, and was accosted by her navigator, who was a Genoese, in a peculiar language, not understood by the crew, and begged him to call upon the Sardinian Consul, and say to him that two Genoese sailors were prisoners on board, afraid for their lives, and wished to be by him protected. This was reported the next day to Mr. Willshire, who went to the water port, where the pretended captain of the schooner and several of his officers, were chatting with the governor and getting off large stores of water and provisions, already in their boats.

Mr. Willshire called the captain and ordered him forthwith to bring the Sardinians to his office ; and they were accordingly sent for, with black looks from the captain and officers. Upon examination of the men, it came out that the captain and crew, or *passengers*, had been the instigators and actors in a horrible mutiny, riot and massacre, in the Island of St. Jago ; and that, after plundering the town, and committing some acts of piracy, they had seized upon this vessel, which was formerly the ‘ Evening

Edition,' belonging to one of the large newspaper offices of New York, the letters yet plain on her stern; also a Brazilian *Tendo Brig*; armed them, and fled; and that these Genoese were forced on board, with two Spaniards, to navigate her—the commander and passengers (as they called themselves) being soldiers.

Mr. Willshire acted promptly, and took out the two Genoese and the two Spaniards, whose several depositions are in the hands of their respective Consuls General. These being removed from their vessel, and being the only navigators, they dared not venture out to sea without them. This so disconcerted all their schemes, which were no doubt piratical, that one disclosure followed another, until the matter ended by taking all the Portuguese from the vessel, and removing their cargo and their plunder; the sails were finally landed, and the vessel unfitted for sea; her papers also were found to be forgeries.

This set of desperadoes, under the orders of their captain, and by the connivance of the Jew, French and Portuguese Consular agents, then sold off and disposed of their plunder, consisting of silver, and much finery, with a great stock of wine and other liquors, and finally started for Tangier over land, as no vessel would take them from this port. It is believed that their consul got a large share of their spoils, 'by hook or by crook'—whether true or not I cannot determine—but this I certainly know, that, for myself, I would trust no Barbary Jew any farther than I could watch over his conduct; having witnessed too much of the dishonesty of their character and propensities in this country, where not only all their property, but even their lives, are in the power of any officer of this government. You will probably have learned of this affair from rumors in your city, and from the consuls, as the whole band of these ruffians have gone for your place.

The Pilot-boat is of about 80 or 90 tons, and her name is, or was, the '*Evening Edition*,' of New York; her name is yet

painted on her stern, but badly covered with black paint, so that I could easily read it.

Most respectfully,

JAMES RILEY."

Capt. Riley's business, while in Africa, consisted of the purchase of cargoes for the different vessels, then employed in the Mogadore trade, in which he thus became so deeply interested. In truth, Capt. Riley's enterprise and familiarity in these regions, and the circumstance of himself embarking largely in this trade, attracted the attention of not only his own government but also of other commercial nations. For the protection and furtherance of her commerce in those regions, England, with characteristic promptitude and energy in all things that opens even a new port to her commerce, had caused a coast survey of the western shores of Africa. In a letter to Aaron Vail, then at London, Capt. Riley makes mention of this survey in terms of high commendation. He writes thus :

"MOGADORE, (Morocco,) Aug. 3d, 1835.

TO AARON VAIL, Esq., Chargé des Affaires
of the United States at London, etc. etc. :

Dear Sir,—I had the pleasure of visiting your family in March last, and to renew with them our ancient acquaintance, of more than 20 years standing, and to me always peculiarly interesting and agreeable.

For the last four years I have been trading between New York and the South of Europe, and the Empire of Morocco, in Africa; bringing to this country our manufactures of cotton, as well as the raw material, teas, sugar, etc. etc., and specie, chiefly from Europe. Our cargoes hence have consisted chiefly of coarse wool, shelled almonds, (bitter and sweet,) gums, sanderach, euphorlium, annis, caraway, ginjillen, cummin, and other seeds, goat-skins, ostrich feathers, etc., upon which a fair freight has been

made. Thus I have endeavored, single-handed, to open and establish a new trade, which, I trust, may prove beneficial to my country.

To-day I had the pleasure of visiting the *Ætna*, British sloop of war, now anchored off this town, under the command of Capt. Arlet, having been employed this season (to the credit of the British government be it said) in surveying the western coast of Africa, from cape Spartel to cape Bajador, inclusive. I had the privilege of examining their work, and their chart laying down their survey, which Capt. Arlet was kind enough to show me, knowing that I had suffered shipwreck on those coasts and slavery in the interior, in the year 1815, and of course felt a great interest in the survey. After a full examination of the whole survey, made by and under the direction of this accomplished and gentlemanly officer, and a full explanation of the manner of making the same, I do not hesitate to accord my most unqualified admiration of the survey. The whole business has been, as I conceive, conducted with great prudence, industry and perseverance, as well as by sound sense, and with an energy of mind and character seldom equalled, and deserving of the highest praise to the worthy officer, from his own government and all commercial nations.

Upon this dangerous and almost impracticable coast, where the Trade winds constantly blow fiercely and almost directly on the shore, with a high swell always setting upon the land, and with no practicable harbors, Capt. Arlet has so managed as to anchor his vessel, and the cutter that accompanies him, every night; taking proper stations, though often very near a lee and rock-bound shore, where shipwreck was inevitable in case of suddenly losing their anchors; and where tribes of savages were following them, well armed, and firing at their boats whenever they came near the shore — always ready to pounce upon them should any disaster throw them within reach, either to kill or enslave them: and of the nature of that slavery, I had had some sorrowful expe-

rience. Surrounded by so many dangers, Capt. Arlet and his crew proceeded from station to station, with veteran courage and deliberation, sounding and laying down not only the general course of the coasts, but the particulars of every bay and inlet, and every rock and shoal, with all the care and scientific correctness and precision usually observed on coasts the most frequented and hospitable, and of countries the most commercial. The officers attached to the *Ætna* appear to be men well qualified, and highly meritorious. The industry, ability, energy and experience of Mr. Church, the principal draftsman and deputy surveyor, have eminently qualified him for the duties of his station; and his labors inspire the utmost confidence.

I expect to sail for New York by the 10th instant; and with wishes for your health and happiness,

I remain, respectfully and truly,

Your devoted friend and ob't serv't,

JAMES RILEY."

The 'Wm. Tell' having arrived at Mogadore and received her cargo, Capt. Riley, on the 10th of August, 1835, again sailed for New York in command of the brig, and reached that port on the 1st of September.

Ever desirous of adding something advantageous to the adaptations and requirements of his native country, and although he had "*suffered some*" in his previous speculation in Arabian horses, Capt. Riley nevertheless, on this occasion, took great pains to procure an Arabian stallion of the purest blood and finest breed, and brought him to the United States on board his vessel, in this voyage. In this instance, however, he carefully avoided any transaction with government agents and high public functionaries, lest they might *misconceive their instructions*; and, consequently, had no difficulty in landing his horse at New York, as his own property, without being accused of "*unlawfully detaining*" the property of the United States!

Having arrived safely in New York, and being himself, from the nature of his pursuits, not in a situation to take charge of the training of his horse, he consigned him to the care of Major Donnellson, of Tennessee, nephew and private secretary of President Jackson; and who, being a connoisseur in the matter of fine horses, had previously desired an animal of this kind from Arabia, and had requested Capt. Riley to procure and bring one to this country if possible.

The following letter to Major Donnellson, written by Capt. Riley upon his return, fully sets forth the worth of the animal brought, and the nice degree of care and pains necessary for procuring him:

NEW YORK, Sept. 10, 1835.

Dear Sir: Agreeably to your request, in March last, that I should inform you whenever I should import an Arabian horse into the United States, I embrace the first moment of my arrival in the brig 'Wm. Tell,' twenty-one days from Swearah, to inform you that I have brought out a three year old colt, with a view of improving our breed of horses.

My colt, called by the Moors *Mazyoubé*, is a jet black, with a few scattering gray hairs; grayish mane and tail, light at the tip. His sire was a full blooded black Arabian, from the province of Mecca, Arabia; his dam, an iron gray, of the province of Abdah, in the empire of Morocco; and both sire and dam, are of the most highly prized and celebrated breeds of Arabia and Barbary. *Mazyoubé* now stands fifteen hands and two inches high; has a lofty and beautiful head, neck, and shoulders, and shows great action and power; withal, as docile as is possible. I have had him selected and procured at a great expense and much trouble; and think he needs only to be seen to be universally admired, as he is supposed to unite all the good qualities of the Arabian, with the hardihood of the most celebrated *Barba breeds*.

I have his pedigree, translated from the Arabic, in itself a curiosity, and showing what great care is taken of the breed of renowned horses among the Arabians. It is not my intention to sell Mazyoubé, but to place him in the hands of some gentleman in the middle or western states; one who is highly respectable, and who is well known as a lover of fine horses, and who would take pleasure in endeavors to improve the breed of our horses. It would afford me much pleasure to show this horse to our worthy President, whose opinions I venerate, and who, as I am informed, is a most critical judge of a horse.

I shall forward, also, for the President, a *Ram*, of the Tadlah breed; large and hardy, with fine wool, as likely to improve our breed of sheep. This I will send whenever the President will inform me of his willingness to accept him, and direct where I may send him.

I shall be happy to hear from you shortly; and I have the honor to be, sir, most respectfully and truly,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES RILEY.

MAJOR DONNELSON."

This horse, Mazyoubé, was accordingly taken to Tennessee, and was there trained for the "turf," and manifested uncommon capacity for the course; but being accidentally injured in training, he was disabled from performance as a racer, and was returned to Capt. Riley. He is now the property of Hon. J. W. Riley, of Ohio, eldest son of Capt. Riley.

The cargo of the 'Wm. Tell' being discharged, Capt. Riley immediately commenced his preparations for another voyage in the same vessel; and having taken on board a cargo of tobacco, he sailed November 12th for Gibraltar and Mogadore. He arrived out at Gibraltar, discharged his cargo of tobacco, consisting of 143 hogsheads and 200 bales; and on the 25th of Decem-

ber sailed for Mogadore, where he arrived on the 30th of the same month, without any incident worthy of note.

While at Gibraltar he addressed the following letter to his partners in New York, showing a remarkably short passage out, and exhibiting the manner in which the Spanish government had speculated in tobacco, at the expense of the growers in the United States :

“ GIBRALTAR, Dec. 23, 1835.

MESSRS. A. C. ROSSIERE, & Co. :

GENTLEMEN : Since my last of the 5th inst., informing you of my arrival out in 18 days, little has been done, owing to the bad weather ; constant rain, thunder, lightning and gales of wind, so that our cargo was not all landed until yesterday. I am sorry to say that our tobacco does not prove as good as the samples ; it is, indeed, of a totally different quality — some of it Ohio, instead of Kentucky. Twenty hogsheads are sold at \$10 50 per cwt., and ten at auction did not nett \$10, and prospects very dull, owing to the large lots of tobacco, say about 1400 hogsheads, bought in the different ports of the U. S., by the agents of the Spanish government, on credit at high prices. It seems that bills were drawn on bankers in London for the payment, and it was then shipped here, with orders to the consignees to sell the tobacco for what it would bring at auction, in case the Spanish government did not pay the money for it as per contract, within thirty days after its arrival. No money has yet come forward, nor is any likely to come, and consequently the whole will most probably be sacrificed here, to the loss of the sellers in the U. S., who thus will pay dear for trusting governments.

No individual, of course, can compete with this set in this mode of doing business, and I fear that we must submit to a loss on our cargo in consequence. Mr. Sprague is doing all he can to get my funds ready — has now about \$10,000, and will, I

hope, complete the balance, say \$16,000, to day. The brig is ready for sea, and the moment I get the funds, I shall sail for Mogadore, and hope to be not long detained there. I have been obliged to replace my small-boat, and a topsail, (lost on our outward passage,) and repair damages to spars and rigging. Hoping to be with you in February,

I am, as ever, your friend,

JAMES RILEY.

P. S. *Gibraltar*, Dec. 25th, 8 o'clock A. M. — Enclosed I send you bill of lading for \$16,000, and I expect to sail at 11 this forenoon for Mogadore; and shall make all possible despatch going to and at that port. J. R."

After arriving at Mogadore, he again wrote them under date of January 5th, 1836, as follows:

"MOGADORE, Jan. 5th, 1836.

GENTLEMEN: I sailed from Gibraltar on the 25th of December, and arrived here on the 30th, and found my friend Mr. Willshire and family in good health.

We prepared the brig as soon as possible, and yesterday loaded 60 bales of wool, and have 140 more bales packed and ready for shipping. I intend loading about 300 bales of wool, and the balance in sheep-skins, with a small quantity of bitter almonds to make stowage, and be off for your port yet in this month.

Mr. Willshire has exerted himself to the utmost in order to meet our views in our commerce with this country, even to the exclusion of his other business, and I hope and trust that it may prove a source of profit to him. I think he did right in chartering the *Angora* on joint account; it keeps you supplied with wool and skins, and gives him a chance of sharing in the profits,

which may enable him the sooner to leave this land of barbarians, and return to the civilized world again.

With great regard, I am

Your obedient servant,

JAMES RILEY."

These communications, although of a purely commercial character, show, to some extent, the magnitude of the trade already raised up with that remote region through the enterprise and energy of those gentlemen, and chiefly through the agency of Capt. Riley. He sailed from Mogadore on the 29th of January, 1836, having on board, in addition to his usual cargo, another Arabian horse, three years old, named *Ombark*; a fine, jet black, and beautiful animal, now in possession of William Willshire Riley, son of Capt. Riley, now of Columbus, Ohio.

Just before sailing he received a letter from Mr. Willshire in relation to their future commercial operations; and in the course of his communication, Mr. Willshire remarks as follows:

"Most earnestly do I beseech of you to take into your consideration, that you ought to stay at home for the benefit of your health, and seek the best advice for the cure of the painful disorder from which you have been so long suffering; your health is paramount to every thing else."

Capt. Riley then was, and for some time previous had been, laboring under a chronic disease, which, as will hereafter appear, finally obliged him to seek relief and medical aid in the interior of France.

He arrived at New York on the 2nd of March, 1836. On the 6th of the same month he wrote to Gen. Tipton, U. S. Senator, then in Congress, a brief sketch of the circumstances connected with the matters of the appointment of a commissioner to

renew the commercial treaty with the empire of Morocco, alluded to in a former chapter.

It will be remembered, that it had been intimated to Capt. Riley that his appointment as commissioner for the renewal of that treaty on the part of his government, would, without doubt, be made. In fact, without at that time aspiring to the appointment, he had, in the spring of 1835, communicated to the Executive Department, through the kindness of the Hon. C. C. Cambreling, then member of Congress from New York, the fact that our former treaty had, in reality, expired by its own limitation. 'Tis true that the subject was alluded to in President Jackson's annual message of Dec., 1834, as being about to expire, etc. But in consequence of the peculiar method of reckoning dates and times among the Mahommedans, the treaty had then actually expired, though the fact had not been noticed by our government until after its expiration; and consequently our merchants at that time trading with the Moorish ports, Capt. Riley especially, were liable to seizure and confiscation of their property and vessels, and captivity for themselves and crews; were, in fact, entirely at the mercy of a semi-barbarous government, unrestrained by any treaty stipulations.

Being deeply interested in the security, stability and prosperity of our commercial relations with that government, and from his long experience in Moorish commerce, and intimate acquaintance with the Moorish character and customs, he entertained the most lively fears that their very moderate respect for the American people, now unrestrained by commercial treaty, would induce them to make hostile aggressions upon our commerce in those ports. With the knowledge of these circumstances, and perceiving that our government had, as yet, made no provision for the renewal of the expired treaty, and apprehensive of unpleasant difficulties with the emperor of Morocco, he had addressed the following communication to Mr. Cambreling touching this

matter. This letter was written while Capt. Riley was in Washington city, in the spring of 1835.

“WASHINGTON, March 4th, 1835.”

Hon. C. C. CAMBRELING:

SIR: I have much at heart the renewal of our treaty with the emperor of Morocco, which, according to the Mahomedan account of time, has already expired.

That treaty was made, I believe, in the month Ramadan, of the year 1200 of the Hegira, to continue for fifty years. The year 1250 ended in February last. And, although we have a consul residing at Tangier, knowing as I do from long experience the character of the Moors, and knowing something of that of their present emperor, I much fear that by the intrigues of the consuls of the fourteen other nations represented at Tangier, some steps may be taken to our injury by that government; for they assuredly will insist on their own method of calculating time.

Within the current month my intention is to sail for Mogadore, in order to pursue commercial business with Morocco, to which country I have been trading for the last four years constantly; and, in the event of any misunderstanding between the two governments, my vessel, cargo and crew, might be seized upon, and myself again become a captive.

I am aware, sir, that the President intends to renew our treaty with that power shortly, and that he wishes also to secure by treaty stipulations, as many commercial advantages as practicable for his country, and that the Hon. the Secretary of State, is preparing to execute those intentions; hence I only venture to say, that with the Moors “delays are dangerous” to our interests; for with them, intentions are carried instantly into execution.

With great consideration,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES RILEY.”

This matter having been thus made known and agitated in the political circles at Washington, some of Capt. Riley's friends, knowing his long and intimate acquaintance with both the commercial and political affairs of Morocco, and appreciating the importance of his peculiar knowledge and sagacity in a treaty with that Empire, united in recommending him to the Executive for appointment to that agency, on the part of the United States. The following is the recommendation sent in to the President :

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES :

SIR : The undersigned, understanding that an Agent is soon to be appointed to negotiate a renewal of our treaty with the Emperor of Morocco, unite in recommending James Riley, Esq., of New York, as a suitable person for that purpose. His intimate knowledge of the commerce, the customs, manners and language of the people of that country, eminently qualify him, in our opinion, to fulfil the duties devolving on such an officer.

Respectfully, we are your obedient servants,

H. CLAY,	CHARLES C. FERRIS,
PHILOMON THOMAS,	CAMPBELL P. WHITE,
JOHN CHANEY,	J. B. VAN HOUTEN,
H. A. MUHLENBURG,	ABEL HUNTINGTON,
JOHN GALBRAITH,	C. C. CAMBRELING,
JEREMIAH McLEAN,	JOHN MORGAN,
JOHN MITCHELL,	AMOS WARD,
JOHN TIPTON,	H. C. MARTINDALE,
G. W. SAY,	J. W. BROWN,
S. G. HATHAWAY.	

WASHINGTON, 1835.”

In addition to this, the Legislatures of different States had joined in resolutions recommending Capt. Riley to this appointment ; particularly the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Indiana. Capt. Riley was, moreover, encouraged in this matter by the Secretary of State, who had even gone so far as to make application to him to furnish the Department with a list of pres-

ents proper to be sent to the Emperor of Morocco at the time of entering upon the negotiation of the new treaty, and also more than intimated that Capt. Riley's services would be required as the Agent of the Government, and that his vessel would be employed to carry out the presents to be sent by our Government to the Emperor: and Capt. Riley had accordingly furnished a list as desired. But after all, he was not appointed.

It will be remembered, that in April of 1835, he had sailed for Morocco, while the matter of the appointment was yet under advisement at Washington, and did not return to the United States until October, 1835, and consequently knew nothing of the result of the matter until after his return. Soon after his arrival at New York, Mr. Secretary Forsythe happened to be in that city, when Capt. Riley called upon him to pay his personal respects, and even then he was misled by false intimations. The following letter from Capt. Riley to Gen. Tipton, under date of March 6, 1836, exhibits the *finale* of this "*singular business*."

"NEW YORK, March 6, 1836.

GENERAL JOHN TIPTON, U. S. SENATOR, ETC.

DEAR GENERAL: Since I had the pleasure of seeing you in March last, (1835) in Washington, I sailed in April for Mogadore, in the brig America; loaded her and sent her back to this port; waited there for my brig Wm. Tell, loaded her, and returned to New York on board her in October last.

It appears that the President has authorized Mr. Leib, Consul at Tangier, to renew our treaty with Morocco! In offering, last year, my services to the President, at the request and suggestion of the Secretary of State, to negotiate the renewal of our treaty with Morocco, I was actuated by the belief that my experience in the commerce of that country, might be made useful to our Government and fellow citizens. And I also supposed that, when Mr. Forsythe asked me for a list of articles, proper for specimens

of our arts and manufactures, to present to his majesty, and intimated that my services, and those of my vessel, would be wanted in effecting that treaty; and when he asked me to throw myself upon his generosity in the matter of those horses, and the lion, I considered myself as dealing with a man of high personal character, and a worthy public officer. In all this I have been always duped; and but a plaything in the hands of a *prevaricator*, using no harsher term.

I hate duplicity and lying in any individual, much more in a public functionary. I called on Mr. Secretary Forsythe, in this city, in October last. He immediately spoke of the Moorish treaty, and said that nearly all the articles *were ready to carry out*, except the brass field pieces which I had recommended; and as there was no foundry for brass cannon in this country, he said he was at a loss what to do, and inquired of me how long before I intended again to sail for Morocco; and also said that he would see if the presents could be got ready to go out by my vessel, etc., etc. In reply to this, I pointed out a way to get them.

- Poor simpleton, that I was! I thought all this statement was so; remarked to the Secretary that the delay of a week or two would make but little difference in my voyage; and if I could be of service, again tendered, both myself and vessel, to the Secretary, in good faith! When, would you believe it, General, this proved to be all *gammon* — *mere moonshine*! and that the articles for Morocco had already, with a Government Agent, been sent out in the frigate Constitution, to Tangier, which, of course, the Secretary knew to be the fact while speaking to me! Yet such was the truth.

Let me no longer trouble you with this *disgusting subject*; but I hope, in future, that *personal character* will be an ingredient more highly valued in public functionaries.

Before you leave for the West, I intend to place in your hand a package of *dates*, by eating which you will find your lungs

strengthened ; they also impart vigor to the general constitution, and are peculiarly beneficial in colds and hoarseness.

Truly, your devoted friend,

JAMES RILEY.

P. S. I do not complain of not having been employed in the Moorish treaty, because it has been beneficial to my interest not to be employed ; I nevertheless venture to state to a friend my views of this duplicity, and reiterate my conviction that my services would have proved beneficial to our country's commerce.

JAMES RILEY."

To this communication, Capt. Riley received the following reply :

" WASHINGTON, 10th March, 1836.

Dear Sir : I was much gratified by the receipt, this morning, of your kind letter of the 6th inst. I had inquired frequently after you since my arrival here, and was still told that you had gone to Morocco. Your letter brought me the news of your safe arrival ; and believe me sincere, when I say that it does my heart good to hear that your laudable and almost unexampled exertions are likely to turn out profitable to yourself.

I called on the Secretary, three days after my arrival here, and inquired whether the presents intended for the renewal of our treaty with Morocco had been sent ? by whom ? and who was to renew the treaty ? He gave answers to the questions, and seemed much embarrassed. I felt indignant, not so much by the disappointment, as with the evident dissimulation with which we had been treated last spring. He, and those with him now in power, are indebted to INDIANA, not for mere words, but for constant, quiet, but firm and substantial support. Indiana had asked, and had a right to expect, your appointment ; her citizens now would have preferred it to any other that could have been sent on that business.

I am really thankful to Mr. Sprague, and yourself, for the present; and if convenient to you to store them with Suydam & Jackson, merchants in the city, the articles can go out with a lot of goods, that I shall purchase from them, the first of next month; but I beg you not to give yourself too much trouble on my account. Be kind enough to present me kindly to Mr. Sprague, and say that I shall always take pleasure in hearing from or serving him or his. You have been both industrious and successful, to perform so many long voyages, besides the time and labor required to purchase, load and discharge so much property. I shall feel obliged by your giving me the address of your sons, that I may send them a public document occasionally; they are soon to take our place; for them and our country we live; and I hope that, after we pass off the stage, none will be found to repent that we *have lived*.

Write when you have time; I love your business narratives, graphic description, and the details of your voyages.

Your friend,

JOHN TIPTON.

Capt. J. RILEY,

New York."

Capt. Riley vigorously prosecuted his commercial business with Africa through the remainder of the year 1836. His health however began to fail him, more seriously than ever before, since his return from the Western wilderness, in 1826. The complaint which gave him most alarm and much pain, with every violent or sudden exertion, was a chronic inflammation of the bladder, (chronic cystitis.) This had been of some years standing; and in the latter part of 1836, became so severe as to render it quite necessary for him to abstain from his usual labors on board his vessel, as well as in port, and to seek medical advice, and, if need be, surgical treatment for the relief of his disorder.

Having arranged his affairs at New York, Capt. Riley sailed to

Mogadore, and remained there through the fall and winter of 1836-7. In the spring of 1837, finding that his malady rather increased than diminished, he determined to avail himself of a period of relaxation from his commercial and maritime pursuits, and to seek medical aid among the eminent physicians of France. Early in the spring of 1837, therefore, he left Mogadore and proceeded to France, by the way of Gibraltar.

Of the incidents of his travels through France and Spain, Capt. Riley kept a regular narrative, which will both interest and instruct. It is commenced in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

TRAVELS IN FRANCE AND SPAIN.

Capt. Riley embarks for Spain — Tuscan brig in a squall — The two lady "Saints" — Arrives at Malaga — Almeria — Carthagena — Alicant — Visit to the Government Tobacco Factory — A novel sight — Valencia, its shops and artisans — Tarragona — Barcelona, industry and neatness of its inhabitants; beauty of its environs — Rosas — Port Vendre in France — Marseilles, its port, shipping, commerce — The city, its Squares, Promenades and Fountains — Fountain Square — Country people — Aix, hotel charges — Estuary of the Rhone — Cultivation — Condition of the peasantry — Iron bridge — Canal of Languedoc — Beaucaire, its great Fairs — Ancient city of Nismes — Gigantic Fountain — Antiquities — The Amphitheatre, an exhibition.

MOGADORE, (Empire of Morocco,) March 23d, 1837. — I despatched the brig Wm. Tell, for New York, with a full cargo of unwashed wool, under command of Robert Waters, her mate. On the same day, I took an affectionate leave of my friend, Mr. Willshire, and departed on board of the Tuscan brig "Il Dena Di Sussex," in command of Capt. Listovitch, a Sardinian, and sailed for Gibraltar; light airs and fair wind.

March 28. — Then in the straits of Gibraltar, with a strong gale at east, right ahead. The captain reefed the fore-top sail, but I could not persuade him to reef his main sail before night, as I expected a squally time. At midnight, I heard much noise on deck, and found the vessel was upon her beam-ends. I scrambled upon deck, and learned that a squall had struck us suddenly, and all sails were let run and were flapping like mad. The captain, mate and people were trying to secure them from blowing away. Though quite dark, I saw the land right ahead, and we

run within a biscuit-toss of the rocks. I told the captain — “For God’s sake, don’t run ashore!” It was the coast of Africa, near, but within cape Spartel. “What shall I do?” exclaimed the captain, “for the sailors won’t obey me.” “Brace aback the fore-top sail,” I shouted, and ran to the braces, and braced it aback myself, while the crew were at prayers. The vessel was within half her length of the rocks, but soon got stern way; I seized the helm, and ordering the captain and mate to the braces, she wore round upon her heel and soon got her head off shore; the waves all the while dashed over us as though the vessel had been a rock. The captain had in his cabin two pictures, no more than engravings, each about a foot square, in frames, and hung up in the after-part of the cabin. One was labeled, “Notre Dame de la Garde de Marseilles” — our Lady of the Guard of Marseilles; the other, “Notre Señora del Carmen” — our Lady of Carmen, or flesh. These two *ladies* were a source of great relief to those simple, unlearned mariners — for the *captain* could neither read nor write! (the mate navigated the vessel;) and before those pictures of saints a lamp was kept continually burning, day and night. Three times a day the captain, mate and cook, had kneeled before, and prayed aloud to, those saints. The moment the vessel was found to be in safety, the captain, mate, and all hands went down, kneeled and thanked those ladies, in long prayers, for having sent me on board to save them from shipwreck and slavery; for, said they, without Capt. Riley’s aid, foreknown by the Virgin, we must have lost our vessel, our all, and been made slaves to the Moors. With sighs and tears, they kissed the frames of the pictures, and then went to work, to shorten sail to the gale. But after daylight, on the 29th, it moderated, and at 12 M., we came to an anchor in Gibraltar Bay; and were quarantined 7 days. The cooking on board this vessel was the dirtiest and most abominable ever imagined — everything was swimming in rancid olive oil; and though I had laid in my own stores, I could eat only bread, and fowls boiled in water.

April 6.—The quarantine ended, and I went ashore and lodged at Griffith's. I remained at Gibraltar from the 6th of April to the 4th of May, to await a steam vessel for Marseilles, as all others are subject, on arrival, to quarantine of fourteen days.

May 4.—At 5 P. M., I took passage in the steamer *Mediterranean*; and at 7 o'clock set off for Malaga, with about 60 passengers, among whom was Mr. Hutchinson, the American Consul at Lisbon, with his wife and family. We arrived at Malaga on the 5th, and were admitted at 8 A. M., and immediately went on shore and took up our quarters at a good hotel. During the 5th and 6th, I looked about Malaga, a city of the third magnitude, but of much commerce in dried fruits and wines to all parts of the North of Europe, and the United States. Its harbor is a sort of basin, formed by the sudden bending of the coast from W. to S. W., and by a good mole, well built of stone, half a mile in length, within which several hundred vessels, of all descriptions, some as large as sloops of war, are very well sheltered from all winds, anchoring in tiers, their heads north and west, as the mole runs; and upon its point is a good light-house, to guide the mariner. But wo to a vessel anchored outside the mole, or not well moored within, when the heavy gales from the south-east set in, in winter, driving all before them.

This city's commerce is very flourishing, its houses good, streets rather narrow and crooked for a fine walk; to the northwest and west, the country is fine and level, covered with wheat and other grains, grass, and grapes, promising abundance. The city is not defended by walls; and contains, it is said, 40,000 inhabitants; which, as I think, is a large estimate.

May 6th. At 6 in the evening we went on board and set off for *Almeria*. The country between this and Malaga is mountainous and barren, with now and then a fertile valley, and flats near the sea; upon one of which, at the bottom of a small bay stands *Velez-Malaga*, a considerable village, from which some wine and much pig-lead is exported.

At 11 A. M., we came to the town of *Almeria*, at the bottom of a deep bay, formed by cape de Gata, and anchored and went on shore. This bay is deep, and partly sheltered from E. to S. E., and from winds in general, except from S. S. E. and S. S. W. Here were lying three brigs, a ship, and several feluccas. The town is walled in, but is small and poor; the streets are narrow, the houses low; the men wear short petticoat-trowsers and shirts; the women, short petticoats; all filthy and barefooted; I saw many beggars—a lazy, miserable set—all setting about and covered with vermin.

We left Almeria at 3 P. M., passed cape de Gata, and arrived at the fine port of Carthagená at 7 A. M., on the 8th of May. Carthagená was formerly a king's port, where immense navies in former times have been fitted out; and although the arsenals, a noble set of buildings, capable of holding the materials for a hundred ships of the line, are still standing, and a fine creek, defended by forts and a floating boom, with piers of hewn stone securing-places, still exist, and in pretty good repair, not even a brig of war is in port, nor any merchant vessel, except a few small craft and one American brig, put in in distress for repairs. The town stands north of the bay, is well built, but the streets are narrow; the houses are mostly three stories. It is walled in on the land side, with a wet ditch, and is well fortified around the bay side of the city, which now contains about 30,000 (formerly 70,000,) inhabitants. There is not a *Pasada* in the city, of any consequence; and natives, as well as strangers, are compelled to go to a few poor coffee houses for refreshment in case of need.

The coast between cape de Gata, Cat cape, and Carthagená, is bold and generally mountainous, with some fertile valleys. At 6 P. M. we weighed anchor at Carthagená for Alicante, and arrived at that city at 7 A. M., of the 9th. Alicante is a small but well built and clean city, situated at the bottom of a deep and broad

bay, open to all easterly winds ; but is, nevertheless, called quite safe in summer. The city is on the N. W. of the anchorage, and has a good mole running out to the south, nearly half a mile in length, to protect small vessels in stormy weather. Brigs, also, of not more than 12 feet draft of water, might be here protected. There were at least a hundred vessels and small craft in the bay and behind the mole, that gave to Alicant an air of business. Its trade is in wine and oil, and different kinds of grain, the adjacent country being very fertile ; large quantities of barilla are made and shipped from this quarter. The city is well built of stone ; houses generally three stories ; the streets, in general, are narrow and very crooked. The city is defended by thick stone walls all around, and mostly of hewn stone. The citadel stands on a hill nearly inaccessible, to the northeast of the city, and almost within it, and 800 feet above the level of the sea ; it is steep on all sides, and, I should imagine, nearly impregnable. There is also at the northeast of the town, half a mile from the walls, a good looking fort.

The promenade in the city is very fine ; and another without the walls, near the southwest gate, is about a mile long, well planted with shady trees, is not only a fine walk, but an excellent carriage way. I took a ride on horseback within, without, and around the environs of the city. To the northeast, about a quarter of a mile from the city walls, stands an immense quadrangular building, with an interior court ; its northwestern face is 400 feet long, and four stories high ; it is the "Fabrica De Tabacco," (tobacco factory.) In front of this building, it being nearly 9 o'clock A. M., were seated upon the ground, in Moorish fashion, an immense number of young women — I think at least a *thousand* ! — and most of them employed in giving suck to one or *two* infants. None of these women appeared to be over thirty years of age, and the children, as well as their mothers, were fine looking and healthy ; some were very handsome. This was

the finest sight I ever saw. There were several hundred naked breasts, all employed in giving sustenance to their offspring, while their mothers were caressing their darlings; it was quite a novel sight. On enquiring the cause of this, I was informed by an officer of the establishment that this was a government factory, in which were employed daily, from 1500 to 2000 women, all married, and none over 35 years of age, in making cigars, snuff, and other forms of tobacco. That they were let into the factory at nine in the morning, and were not allowed to carry their children in, nor could the mothers leave till five in the afternoon; and thus, to the last moment before entering, each mother was nursing and caressing her child, which was then carried home by a nurse, or by some other child, and taken care of until the mothers returned at 5 P. M., when all are let out, after a strict search of each one to detect pilferers of the precious nicotian weed. There are no beggars in Alicant, all is industry.

May 9.—We left Alicant at 3 in the afternoon, bound for the far-famed city of *Valencia*. The coast from Alicant to the northward is much better than to the south-east, and more level, with mountains in view, however; but the soil is capable of cultivation, and in the flats and valleys is covered with wheat and other grains, vines and vegetables. After a fine night we came too, off Valencia, at 10 A. M., of the 10th of May; were admitted directly, and landed on a good mole for the protection of small vessels, half a mile in length, south-east. Here we found carts covered with tarpaulin stretched over a set of hoops, and projecting some two feet below the axletree, which is in the centre; in the interior were seats on each side, where passengers may sit and ride to the city of Valencia, two leagues distant. These carts, each drawn by one horse, are called, "*tartana*." As there were no other carriages, nor horses to be had, I got into one of these go-carts, without springs, and set off, in company with a Danish gentleman and his wife, for the city; but the jolting so increased the

pain incident to my malady, that I could not endure it, except by squatting on my feet the whole distance. On entering the little town at the port where we landed, we found it well built, and containing about 3,000 inhabitants; and from thence to Valencia is a most beautiful road, level, and 90 feet broad, and planted on each side with rows of sycamores and elms, very large, and giving a delightful shade, while beyond, on either side, were the finest fields of wheat and barley, and other productions; the fields were divided off by rows of mulberry trees, for the feeding of silk worms, and grow in immense numbers.

We reached the ancient city of Valencia at 8 in the morning; the gates were shut, for fear of the Carlist chief Cabrera, reported to be then only 10 leagues distant. We accordingly rode round to New Gate, which was open to receive provisions, &c., but guarded by a mass of militia; we entered, and took up our quarters at the "Hotel Del Vergen, place del Cathedral." After chocolate I procured good horses, with a fine young man, full of *Spanish* intelligence, and another to accompany me, and reviewed the city within and without.

Valencia is situated on a vast plain, apparently the estuary of the river. The whole plain, as far as the eye can reach, and thence to the ocean, north-west and west, is so formed by nature, and leveled by the art and industry of the inhabitants, as to be irrigated and rendered fertile forever, by the waters taken from the river a long way above the city, and carried by canals, sluices and ditches, over every field on its immense surface, at the pleasure of the proprietors. This, together with the compost of a great city thrown upon it, suffices to give the whole a delightful garden-like appearance. The banks of the canals and dikes dividing the fields, (for there are no fences) are planted with mulberry-trees, whose leaves furnish food for the silk-worm; the silk from which, both raw and manufactured, forms a rich portion of the trade of Valencia.

This city is walled in, with apparently solid stone work, at least 40 feet high, with batteries upon its top and angles; but now in a state of dilapidation, and with but a few pieces of ordnance mounted, and in condition for defence. The militia, about 5000, were busy in getting up and mounting cannon on the walls; but their work progressed at a lazy, drone-like pace. The houses within the walls are from 3 to 5 stories high, well built with stone, generally with balconies and windows in front. The ground floor of the houses is usually one step below the streets, (which are mostly narrow and crooked,) and is occupied as stores for all kinds of goods and merchandize, and for shops for all sorts of mechanics. And, although the government seemed anxious about the approach of Cabrera, yet the citizens seemed to care for none of those things, and were busily employed at their work, both in the stores and mechanics' shops, as though nothing could happen to disturb them. Here were fine delicate looking women, with their clean stockings and beautiful little ones well dressed, and with smiling countenances, in attendance behind the counters, each one cheerfully attending to the calls of customers; or with some kind of needle work or knitting in their hands, as busy as bees all the while. As the whole front of the store is open by large doors and windows, and a step or two below the side walk, the passenger can see from the street nearly all that each store contains. I think the whole an admirable arrangement, and an improvement upon the long, lank, male counter-jumpers of New York; attending all day, perhaps half the time idly waiting for customers, to measure off fine silks, laces, ribbons, or tape by the yard, with their smirking looks, praises of their goods, and fulsome compliments to the fair sex. With my attendants, I rode through almost every street in the city. Mechanics of all kinds usually met with in Europe or America, workers in wood, from the toy-fiddle and guitar maker, up to the wheel-wright and house carpenter, were here all at work; their benches, close to the

streets, open to the view of every traveler — blacksmiths, gunsmiths, machinists, watchmakers, workers in gold and silver — all open like the stores, and every man and boy attending strictly to their work, although hundreds of passers-by were gazing at their labor and progress, which appeared to incite them to greater industry and activity ; this, in my opinion, is a very good arrangement.

Valencia contains about 250,000 inhabitants by the last census. A vast multitude for its area, that appeared not more than a mile in diameter ; but it might be much more considerable, as I only rode through it ; and viewed the whole city again from the top of its gigantic cathedral steeple, which was formerly a Moorish mosque. The houses are covered with tiles, the flat roofs of the south of Spain are here no longer visible. The shade trees planted all around the city walls, along the level carriage ways, and upon the river banks running on the north side of the city, give the whole a majestic and lovely appearance. The harbor is good for nothing, except for small craft.

We left Valencia at 12 M., and instead of calling a “ tartana,” or go-cart, I rode to the port on a most beautiful dark chesnut stallion, (only 3 years old, and 17 hands high ; worth in New York \$1000,) and got on board by a shore boat the moment the anchor was weighed, for Tarragona, kingdom of Catalonia. The country north-east of Valencia 20 miles, is still mountainous, but with fertile valleys, and larger flats than those further south — they are well cultivated, and planted with thousands of mulberry trees for the raising of silk, which is their staple product. During the day, we also passed several fine villages on the coast, with churches, and well populated, and one with a strong fortress upon a hill.

May 11 — At 7 in the morning we passed the mouth of the river Ebro, the water of which appeared very muddy and thick ; at 12 M., we came too, under the well built mole of Tarragona,

the southernmost port in the kingdom of Catalonia. The town of Tarragona is built upon a hill, 300 feet high north of the mole, which stretches out S. three-quarters of a mile, and S. S. W., makes a good shelter for shipping from nearly all winds. Tarragona is a small walled town, of about 20,000 inhabitants. It is well built of stone ; and from the length and strength of the mole under which ships with good anchors may ride, and from the number of brigs and small craft in the harbor, I should think it was quite a commercial town ; but being in a hurry, for we tarried only an hour, I had but little opportunity to learn particulars. At the end of the hour we sailed for Barcelona.

As we proceed, we find the country generally better, and more thoroughly cultivated. At day-light on the 12th, a strong wind from the north-west sprung up, and our pilot had to run the vessel twenty miles off the land to leeward, for fear, as he said, of the low land at the mouth of the Ebro, the most considerable river in Spain. We toiled hard all day to windward, and passed the Ebro, close in by the land, at 10 o'clock in the morning ; the sea water here was muddied many leagues around, like the waters of the Mississippi, showing that it was a time of a great freshet or flood in the river. At 9 in the evening we entered the port of Barcelona, and anchored — no health visit to-night.

May 12.—At 9 in the morning we were visited by the health officer, and permitted to land. The port of Barcelona, formed partly by a long, low, sandy neck of land, and by a long and very solid mole, is one of the finest harbors possible. There is a light house on the point of the mole, with a fixed light. The harbor was filled with several English and French vessels, and one Spanish corvette, all within the harbor, and one English frigate lying off the port. As we walked along the basin, whose area is large, and paved with square flagstones, we saw landing from many vessels, and poured into separate heaps upon the quai, cargoes of the different sorts of wheat, from the Balearic Isles,

from Tunis, from Italy, and from the Black Sea; the latter brought by some fine Greek polacca brigs. There were, indeed, every where signs of commercial activity; vessels building on shore, others covering and repairing in the basin, and the grateful din of workmen, of sailors, truckmen, and the fumes of boiling pitch, tended to arouse a seaman's feelings and sympathies. We entered the city of Barcelona, and took up our quarters at the excellent hotel of Las quatro Navioneo, upon the *prado*; and after breakfast I took a horse and rode about, within and without the city, to view its site and examine its condition.

This immensely rich, well built, well fortified, and truly great emporium for the commerce of Catalonia, stands on a beautiful plain, upon the margin of its port, and contains many straight and broad streets of fine and elegant houses, although the principal stores and shops are upon narrow and crooked streets; and, as in Valencia, their ground floors are below the level of the streets, for the convenience of showing, in their front shops, their wares and merchandize to the street passengers. The houses are elegant, and, in many instances, very large. They are generally built of hewn stone, with windows in front, opening inwards like folding doors, and with iron balconies. The city wall is circular, forty feet high, built with hewn stone, with salient angles, and pointed batteries on all the land sides, and is also surrounded by a dry ditch, sixty feet in width, which can be filled with water at pleasure; and again, without the ditch, are strong batteries to cover the main works, which, if properly mounted and garrisoned, appear to be impregnable. The summit of the wall is leveled, and made into a fine walk all around the city; a carriage way 100 feet wide, also surrounds it, affording a most delightful drive of three or four miles, overlooking the country for many leagues, as well as the basin and port. The cannon upon the batteries, though not numerous, are of brass, of different calibres, and mounted upon field carriages; hence they might readily, in case of attack, be removed to any point, like heavy horse artillery.

The citadel is a strongly fortified, circular mountain, standing south of the city, at a distance of 300 yards; is 800 feet high, and commands and can protect the city, in case of assault, and must itself be taken before an enemy could keep the city. The city is said to contain between two and three hundred thousand inhabitants—all the most industrious people I ever saw; apparently, there is not an idler. Every woman or girl you see walking, has her knitting in hand and hard at work, both in the streets and upon the promenades and wall; and only those who sport carriages, are ever, when seen, without something in their hands to do. The mechanics, too, as in Valencia, work in shops open in front, and in view of everybody; but all are as busy as bees. I have nowhere seen so much apparent industry, as in and around Barcelona, while all are well dressed and generally cleanly; the women appear neat and elegant. The language is an impure Spanish, though most of the merchants and traders speak the Spanish with much elegance. The environs of Barcelona are flat, enriched by the compost of the city and universal irrigation, and are covered with the finest crops of grains, grasses, and vegetables, as far as the eye can reach. All around, outside of the walls and ditch, the roads are leveled and planted with rows of the best shade-trees, making elegant and delightful rides or walks; while the whole country around is spotted over with country residences, truly beautiful and picturesque, and which are embowered among abundant groves of mulberry trees; the whole, rendering a residence in and near this city—the worthy capital of a former kingdom, and now a viceroyalty—one of the most desirable in Europe.

May 13.—At 6 in the morning, paid our bills, being five francs (94 cents) for breakfast, dinner and supper; all of the best and most fashionable kind. This little ceremony through with, we returned on board our “Mediterranean,” filthy and swarming with bed-bugs though she was, and set off for Rosas. Our course

all day lay, with a good and favorable breeze, along the coast. We passed very many villages, large and elegant, in the course of the day, with a beautiful country in view, the mountains and hills receding from the coast. At 5 P. M. we came too in a fine bay, and near the town of Rosas; a small village, but which was well fortified, and kept the French army, of 60,000 men, in check for several weeks, in 1816; but was finally taken by the French, and razed to the ground, by the army who were employed to establish the despotism of Ferdinand VII.

This bay is very spacious and secure for men-of-war, where the English lion used to watch and lie ready for his prey during the long war with France. We only landed the mail, and exchanged passengers for one hour, here; and at 7 in the evening, set off for our first port in France.

May 14.—At 1 in the morning, we arrived at Port Vendre, in France, and anchored; at 5 A. M. we were admitted to port, and went on shore. Port Vendre is a beautiful little circular harbor, with reefs off and around its entrance, only seen when within a mile or two of port, but with depth of water sufficient for the largest men-of-war. It is a port forming a basin as safe from all winds as a wet dock; with room enough already for several hundred merchant vessels, and a good depth of water—say five fathoms. Here were lying a dozen good looking brigs; one of which, loaded with horses, sailed for Algiers this morning. This port, lying south of the Gulf of Lyons and so easy of access, is marked out for a Marine Arsenal. The plans for the works and the excavations, are already drawn, by good engineers, and the works were to commence for the government this year. It is capable of being made a port sufficient to contain 100 men-of-war; and when once in full operation, will, in time of war, be of great consequence to a maritime nation.

We left Port Vendre at 1 P. M., for Marseilles; and, turning the point, headed against a tremendous gale of wind from the

north. The "Mediterranean" puffed and paddled hard all day and all night in the Gulf of Lyons; the spray came upon deck as thick as a dollar; all the passengers deathly sick; but our craft stemmed it manfully; the Pyrennees, covered with snow, in sight. At 4 in the afternoon, the wind lulled, as we cleared the coast, to W. N. W.; we made all sail, and at 7 in the evening, were off the mouths of the river Rhone, issuing its muddy and turbid flood into the sea; but our boat scudded before it like a duck, and at 9 in the evening, saw the light-house from our outward deck; at 10, we entered the basin and fine port of Marseilles. From a tremendous swell on the outside, in three minutes we were transferred to a smooth surface, and were lying as still as in a wet dock, surrounded by hundreds of sail of shipping, and hard by this beautiful old city. This natural basin, among highlands, is one of the best ports in the Mediterranean, and forms the commercial emporium for the south of France.

Marseilles is a fine old town, now very large, and has, for ages, been a great and most thriving commercial mart for all the nations on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean. The port is about a mile long from west to east, and five hundred yards broad from north to south, with a depth of three fathoms of water, and surrounded by solid hewn stone quays. The shipping within lay moored in two tiers, on each side of the basin, with anchors in the mid-channel, which is muddy; and the vessels thus, by one half lying with their heads to the north and the others with their heads to the south, leave a channel in the centre, between their bows, for vessels entering or warping out of port. The sterns of all the shipping are secured in their tiers by cables fast on shore from their quarters, and lay secure from all winds. The mouth of the port is not more than 100 yards wide; upon the south-west shore of the basin are the yards for ship-building, where there are now eight brigs on the stocks, merchant vessels, of good models. Here are several large steam-ships; some, belonging to govern-

ment, and at present employed in carrying provisions and stores, troops, etc. to the colony of Algiers ; others are passenger vessels, belonging to companies, which carry on the trade between this place and all the ports of Italy, Greece, and its islands, Austria, Turkey, and even to Smyrna and Constantinople. Those steamships are fine vessels, very strong in their construction, and formed expressly for buffeting the winds and waves of those tempestuous seas ; being long, broad, and high-sided, above water, and drawing about 10 to 12 feet of water, quite sharp forward and aft, and under water, but swelling out above water, so that, by leaving a hollow place for the wheels to play in, you can scarcely know, until near by, that they are propelled by steam. They carry their engines and all their machinery under the deck ; the powerful engines working upon horizontal cylinders. They carry on board experienced English engineers, to manage them, who rank with the captain, have high wages, choose their sub-engineers and firemen, have a forge and tools on board to make all necessary repairs, and are responsible for all damages they may cause, in entering or leaving ports. I am thus particular, in the hope that some of these precautions, so obviously useful, will be adopted by owners of steam vessels in my own country, when intended to navigate seas, lakes or boisterous waters, in order to prevent such appalling losses of life and property as are now but too common.

The city of Marseilles is well, but not regularly, built of brick and stone, and of vast extent, showing architecture of old and new periods ; but, notwithstanding, is, upon the whole, a beautiful, and a very rich and commercial city. There are many elegant squares and promenades, shaded with trees and accommodated with stone benches, adorned and refreshed also by numerous fountains of good water. The streets are generally well laid out, and some of them have flagged side-walks. The hotels are numerous, splendid, and well kept ; I lodged at l'Hotel des Princes, near the old Exchange. The coffee-houses are very numerous,

and well fitted up, at which every body breakfasts, and very comfortably too. The bustle of business on the quays, and of the business men of all nations, tongues and dress, upon the Fountain Square — allotted as a sort of exchange, or place of meeting, where they assemble in dense crowds, at about 7 in the morning, and continue coming and going until about 2 in the afternoon — is truly astonishing; and nearly all the business of this great emporium is transacted upon this open square, where you hear a continual buzz of human voices, all in earnest chaffer, during half of each day. The stately Spaniard, the wily Italian, the grave and bearded Turk and Moor, and Egyptian; Greeks from the Morea, and their various islands, with their petticoat trowsers, blue, tight jacket, little cap and large moustache; the Barbary Jew, with black skull-cap and slippers, long-bearded, fierce and cunning, striving, like his forefathers, to gain gold by trickery, and thanking God “that he is not, like other men,” obliged to cultivate the earth for a support. There, too, is the swaggering Englishman, feeling and acting boldly; and all striving to get to windward of him; also, the polite, agreeable, but calculating, well dressed and bustling Frenchman, who, however, manages all in his own profitable way, making a great show with little means — a secret, by the way, worth knowing to an American. There are, here, several respectable and wealthy mercantile houses, which carry on an immense commerce with the world; amongst these, are Messrs. Salavé, (Père, Fils & Co.) Babbean, and others.

The city is said to contain 120,000 inhabitants. I should think there are more; but there are many thousands of strangers. Here are many manufactures of various fabrics, useful in this region, and from Lyons, and many interior cities, as well by the channel of the Rhone and that by the canal of Languedoc, Marseilles receives both the produce of the South and middle regions of France and Switzerland; also, large quantities of silk and wool-

en manufactures for exportation. Her trade in wines, alone, is enormous; a single firm, Feli Grassett de Greneir, exported to the United States in 1836, (per report) *seventy thousand* hogsheads of wine of his own *fabrique*. Marseilles receives a large amount of cotton and other goods from the United States, and from Egypt and the Levant; also, wool, hides, skins, olive oil, gums, feathers, raw silk, and innumerable other articles, the produce of the islands of Barbary. The heat of summer is tempered by the strong north-west gales from the Gulf of Lyons, during a great part of the year, which renders its port hard of access in the winter.

My business to this country was to consult the best and most celebrated doctors for a disorder of the bladder, with which I had been long afflicted; and having consulted the faculty here, I decided to go to Montpellier, and place my case in the hands of the most eminent Professors of that celebrated medical school, long established and renowned the world over. I left Marseilles on the 26th of May, in an easy carriage and pair, for Montpellier, by the route to Lyons. I passed on between high walls, and country seats of massive stone, up hill about three leagues. The hills and mountains on either hand are steep, rugged, rocky, and look barren and pointed. The roads are very good, being what the English call McAdamized, after some Scotchman, as I presume, who has appropriated the title, although such roads have existed in France and Italy, for hundreds of years. But no matter for that, a title as inventors forms their pride. Yet I may be wrong, for Adam the first, only needed the national *Mac*, to have been the doughty Scotchman's progenitor. After mounting upwards three leagues, the road wound around among barren knobs, very stony, with many olive and almond trees, whose tops had been killed by the severe frosts of last winter, and are newly cut off to their stumps, but not yet sprouted; I observed, also, fields of stumps of vines, but no sign of verdure. Descending

the hills towards Aix, wheat fields became numerous, with olive and other fruit trees interspersed, quite to the town; and the land for the last three or four leagues is rich, fertile, and well cultivated. On the road going both from and to Marseilles, the whole way was covered with carts, or large two-wheel carriages, with two shafts, perhaps 30 feet long, lying on the axle, framed together with cross pieces, and furnished with a roller in form of a windlass at each end, and drawn by five, six, seven, and even eight stout horses, one directly before the other; the load is confined by ropes, and fastened and balanced by those windlasses, and covered with oil canvass. This is the mode of carrying heavy loads by land, all over France. It seems to me more awkward than by our wagons; but the French teamsters prefer it, and say that the draft is much lighter, and drawn with less friction, than by wagons; they would not do well, however, in crooked or muddy roads. Along all the road I saw women, some with a mule or horse fast to carts, others with donkeys, carrying baskets or panniers, picking up with their hands the fresh excrement dropping from the horses, and carrying it off for manure! The wheat along the road sides was about a foot high, and amongst the grain there were large gangs of women and girls, from 10 to 40, and even 50 in a gang, (I stopped and counted several gangs), pulling the weeds and tares and other foul stuff from among the wheat, and loading it upon donkeys, and sending it off from the field by boys; meanwhile, one man was superintending each gang and directing their labor. I might call them *parties*, as a little more polite; but I call them gangs, for they resemble the gangs of slaves I had seen in the British Colonies, each gang attended by an overseer, or *driver*, as now I saw looking on, and ordering them about with folded arms. Would not this, thought I, be a case worthy of the attention of the English parliament, which has recently become so conscientious on the subject of slavery, or anything that looks like it, unless it be at their own doors? These

women appeared dark and sunburnt ; had either blue, or no stockings ; appeared dirty and squalid ; wore a little cap, without any border on the crown, and had no hats or bonnets ; their square faces looked scarcely less inviting than those of real ebony color. But I doubt not but that this work was a matter of choice to themselves, and that those very dames and demoiselles, when opportunity offered, would dance like sylphs.

I arrived at Aix, in Provence, before night, and lodged at l'Hotel des Etrangers. This town is old, quite well built, of stone, and has one street a mile long and about 100 yards wide, planted with trees. The country in this valley is fertile and highly cultivated. I had a poor supper (consisting of a young pigeon) and a bed, and in the morning my bill was fifteen francs, (\$2,85). On demanding why I was thus treated, it being four times as much as the ordinary charge — “because you are *mi lord Anglais*, and they always pay fifteen francs.” “But,” I replied, “I am not my lord Anglais ; I am only a poor *sick American*, seeking for health among your French doctors.” “Oh, ah, Monsieur, you look like a lord, you speak French like his highness, and are some great man, and ride in a coach !” There was no standing all this *suaviter in modo* ; I gave the scoundrel his money, and went along, cursing all foolish “tourists,” who seem to come from England, in order to make foreigners stare at their title, or their profusion in throwing away money. This farce of high charges continued till I got to Montpellier.

I left Aix at 7 in the morning, May 27th. The country for several leagues around is fertile, but the grape vines have not budded forth, nor are any of the fruit trees in blossom ; the weather is uncommonly cold, and the season backward. At about 9, in the morning, we reached the highest part of our route, when the beautiful valley, and the broad estuary of the Rhone, like a panorama of loveliness, broke suddenly upon our view ; but to reach it, we were forced to wind our way by the road, often at

right angles, among the barren cliffs and ledges that lay piled around us in wild confusion. We reached the valley about noon, and stopped at an inn called *Port Royal*, being placed near a bridge across an artificial canal cut for irrigating this section of country, from the waters of the Rhone, and through which poured a large stream of turbid water.

Leaving Port Royal, we found ourselves upon a plain of apparently from 10 to 30 miles in breadth, which is the Rhone's broad estuary, within which, changing its course often from side to side in graceful meanderings, like a small streamlet in an alluvial meadow, the mighty Rhone has continued to flow and give fertility for thousands of years, or perhaps thousands of centuries. The whole plain is cultivated, and extensively irrigated by art; here are millions of acres of wheat, barley, rye, pulse, and various kinds of grass, growing luxuriantly, interspersed with regular orchards of mulberry, olive, almond, and other fruit trees, with plantations of grape-vines, already sprouted forth and green with foliage, promising abundance in their season.

We rode on 3 leagues, and came to a bend in the river, which had curved over near to the high land on the south-west side, (for here the valley tends to the W. N. W. and down the river,) which pours a large body of water, not more than 200 yards wide, in a rapid current, and appears shallow. I should think that this current runs at least 8 miles an hour. At a small village here we left the rout to Lyons, which continues on to the north-west, and took our rout, an equally good one, for Beaucaire. To describe the beauty and fertility of this valley, and its vast and various productions, would require an abler pen than mine; for my poor head was fairly giddy at simply seeing and reflecting on the subject. Hundreds of women were busied in stripping the tender leaves from the mulberry tree, on which to feed the silk worms, that give life to the manufactures of Lyons, and supply a large portion of that luxury to the civilized world. I stopped, at

night, at the large village of Garson, after passing many others, at about a league's distance from each other; for in this valley, like other parts of the south of France, all the inhabitants crowd together to live in towns, and old stone villages; and are often obliged to walk 2 or 3 leagues to their work, of tilling the land, at which work both sexes are employed. In our country we think one mile a great walk before beginning our day's work, which indeed seldom happens, as our farmer is lord of the soil, and builds his house as near the centre of his farm as roads and other circumstances permit, and is not dependant on hiring day-laborers from the towns and villages. Here, however, the peasantry call the owner of the land *notre maitre* — our master — and do his bidding like so many slaves, and for a mere subsistence, like the operatives of England, who enjoy only the privileges of slaves, and yet have such an abhorrence of slavery. After holding and domineering over millions of black, white, and tawny slaves for centuries, and extending that curse over her dominions in all parts of the world, and still holding ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS! of subjects in the East Indies in slavery; both the English government and people, would wage war to the extermination of any other people, who would dare to hold their fellow men in bondage! Oh, shame, where is thy blush? A digression before supper.

28th. — We left our hotel at 6 in the morning, and reached the town of Arquelles, on the left bank of the majestic Rhone, in about 3 leagues, over a most fascinating country. We passed on through this town, and crossed the river on a light and airy bridge, suspended by *iron ropes* instead of chains, into the famous city of Beaucaire, and then stopped to examine this curious bridge.

It rests upon four solid stone piers and two abutments, with a floor formed only of timbers, that lie across, and covered with one set of planks lengthwise of the bridge. The whole is supported by chain ropes, formed of iron rods of about one-fourth of an inch square, bound together by other rods of a similar size. There is

only one on each side of the bridge, supported by upright wooden posts, on each pier and abutment, of about 30 feet high ; and this arch, over the channel near Beaucaire, is about 400 feet wide, and the bridge 50 feet above the water at its low stages. These iron ropes are about three inches in diameter, and the bridge is held up by them with ropes, formed in the same manner, of one inch diameter, over the main rope, at every 6 feet distance ; and the lower end is opened so as to embrace the end of the sleepers, of about 8 inches square and from 4 to 6 feet asunder ; so that, in passing, you seem to be suspended by almost nothing, in mid-air. And yet this bridge, slight as it seems, and containing no timber more than 8 inches square, is strong enough to pass over loaded vehicles of all sorts, and has stood the test, as I was informed, for nearly a century. I have endeavored to be particular in this description, as it seems to me a cheap and safe bridge ; and any timber in it, in case of decay, can be easily removed, and with trifling expense, simply by taking the old one out of its iron slings and putting in the new one. Those iron ropes are kept well painted, to prevent rust.

Beaucaire is a large and fine city ; and here a branch of the Canal of Languedoc joins the Rhone, and proceeds up its banks to Lyons ; thus uniting, by inland navigation, the Bay of Biscay at Bordeaux, on the Atlantic Ocean, with the Mediterranean Sea at Agde, and at the port of Cette ; spreading its branches to Narbonne, Beziers, Montpellier, Nismes, and the towns upon the Rhone ; being the first stupendous work of the kind in the civilized world, and worthy of the efforts of a great nation.

At Beaucaire, were lying several hundred vessels and boats of various descriptions, both in the river and in the canal basin, thereby giving this place an appearance of great commercial importance.

In the month of July, the great annual Fair is held at Beaucaire, where immense sales are effected of the productions and

manufactures of France, Germany, and Switzerland, as well as importations. The Fair continues several weeks, and is resorted to by merchants and traders from Spain, Italy, the islands in the Mediterranean, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and Barbary; and so numerous are the articles for sale and so great the crowd, that, besides occupying the houses in town, booths and tents are erected in the environs for the public convenience. During the time of this Fair, and for some time previous and after its close, there are several steam packets running daily to and from Marseilles, with passengers and goods; and at this Fair, the prices of wool and many other staple articles, are settled at Marseilles, for the ensuing year: this I learned by being interested in the trade.

From Beaucaire we ascended the hills near the river, and soon entered upon the vast and beautiful plain that surrounds the ancient city of Nismes. This plain is planted and cultivated as far as the eye can reach, with vines, wheat, and other grains and grasses: olive trees also abound, and much of the mulberry, for the cultivation of silk, as also the almond, prune, apricot, cherry, etc. etc. At 1 P. M., we entered the city of Nismes, greatly celebrated as an old Roman city, containing many antiquities, and the most perfect Amphitheatre, of Roman construction, now existing in the world. After breakfasting upon a young pigeon, I sallied forth on horseback, with an intelligent cicerone, to view the city. We went first to the Porte de Cæsar Augustus. This gate, now partially in ruins, still shows the massive work of past ages. There, too, are the church and city council house, grand of their kind; and there, too, is the gigantic and highly sculptured Fountain, in the north-west part of the city. This fountain is a work of art such as only artists can describe. It was evidently built by a greater and more noble nation: its massiveness and durability of appearance are nowhere equalled by modern architecture. It yet pours forth a mass of water, which, after supplying the city and filling the canal, of like grandeur and

giant workmanship, sends off a stream to the south-east, which turns many mills, and furnishes abundant water for tanneries and other manufactories. Where this water comes from, remains a problem not yet solved by the French; they have dug 500 feet in order to ascertain the direction from whence it comes, but without effect, and gave up their explorations; regarding it as a public blessing, that, like many others, might be destroyed and lost by an idle curiosity and officious and unnecessary meddling. I however doubt exceedingly, whether the "Yankees" would thus philosophically surrender their curiosity, whatever blessings might be risked by its gratification. The fountain is surrounded by a delightful shade, from a large artificial grove of the finest shade trees, laid out in walks of such taste and beauty as to remind one of the stories of fairy land. This is protected from all intrusion of horses or carriages, by huge iron palings with gates, kept and guarded, as are all other public places in France, by soldiers.

The Canal is also another great work of by-gone ages; it is about one mile in length in the midst of the city, and in some places 100 feet wide and 40 feet deep, lined with blocks of hewn stone of vast dimensions; and seems to have been constructed in order to show the former citizens of this once Imperial City, a river in miniature, and afford the *grande*es an opportunity of taking an airing, in a boat upon the water, in the midst of their city. Its margins are planted with shade trees; and it exhibits, throughout, the fragrance and freshness of the banks of a beautiful river, though in the heart of a densely populated city.

While examining this canal, etc., I heard near me the shrill sound of a trumpet; and then a crier shouted, "*Au le combat, au le combat des hommes!*"—To the combat, to the combat of men. I inquired where, and was answered, "at the Amphitheatre;" "*au centre de la ville*"—in the centre of the city; and on looking around, I saw great numbers of well dressed men,

women and children, on their way, on foot and in carriages, towards this centre. I joined the crowd, and soon found myself in front of a circular building of solid granite, and of immensely massive construction, apparently about 60 feet high, arranged with two stories, the upper one standing upon pillars of stone work of about 8 feet in breadth, and arched over head; the top of each arch being about 30 feet high, and leaving between each pillar a passage of about 20 feet in width, for the ingress and egress of passengers, whether on foot, on horseback, or in carriages. At these arches were hung massive iron gates, only one of which was open; and giving my horse to my cicerone, and paying 14 sous, (about 10 cents,) I was admitted. I found an arched passage, around next the outward walls, wide enough for carriages to pass each other, say 40 feet; thus making this a pleasant drive, during summer, of nearly one mile in circumference. The walls within seem as strong and solid as the earth's foundations; and at intervals is a flight of stone steps, leading to the seats of the theatre, at various angles. Ascending, at a venture, one of these flights, I soon found myself within the splendid edifice, near its summit, and that the whole of the interior was fitted up with circular stone seats, rising from the ground at an angle of about 60 degrees; those seats on two sides were occupied by quiet and well dressed people, and said, by the officer at the gate, to be about 5000 in number: if so, when filled, this theatre could have contained from 60,000 to 100,000 people—an immense multitude! The interior is not so complete as the exterior of this edifice; some of the stones in the lower tiers of seats having been removed by former depredators, but it is worth a visit and a voyage across the Atlantic, being the most perfect remains of a building, erected for purposes of public exhibitions and amusements, of the greatest and most wonderful nation of antiquity. I had scarcely made these reflections, when my attention was arrested by the sound of the trumpet, and the hum of, "They are

come!" "They are come!" At the same time, casting my eyes below, I saw, in the middle of the arena, which appeared about 100 yards in diameter, *two very tall and stout men*, stripped to the skin excepting a pair of tight drawers (one blue and the other green) about their loins, and covering a part of the thigh, and ready for action. It was not however to be a battle, but a wrestle. Another blast of the trumpet, and they rushed upon each other, with efforts to grasp and throw each other down; but, as the skins of both had been *oiled*, this was no easy matter. Yet their struggles and exertions were very great; and after thus struggling for about five minutes, encouraged by the spectators, who shouted, for green breeches, or blue, as their choice and favor prompted, they would separate for breath; and after rubbing their hands with sand, in order to be the better able to hold each other, they would return to the encounter.

The contest lasted for more than an hour, and the audience, or rather spectators, seemed highly excited. Finally, one seized the other and took him upon his back, trying to throw him off upon the ground. At this the cheering of the "Blues" was tremendous; but "Green" slipped clear, and seizing "Blue" by the legs, before he could recover, laid "Blue" fairly upon his back, upon the ground; at this the shouting and cheering was deafening, and long continued. The *farce* was now over; all left and went to their promenades, while "Green Breeches" received the triumphs of a conquerer, and, what was more substantial, also the money taken at the gate.

Here, surrounded by these scenes and this scenery, the question instinctively suggests itself to the mind, (perhaps more forcibly to one from the "New World," of which Romans never dreamed!) is this the spot where Roman Emperors, and Generals, the conquerors of the world, with all the masses of the titled and the untitled, the Patrician and Plebeian, were accustomed to witness the exhibitions of the combats of bloody Gladiators, in

mortal strife, and criminals torn in pieces by ferocious animals, amidst the plaudits and deafening cheers of the surrounding tens of thousands? It is even so! All around bears the impress of such fearful exhibitions; the cells below for keeping lions, tigers, and other beasts are yet entire; the arena into which I gazed, the seats whereon I sat, were the same that two thousand years ago were occupied by those who witnessed the Roman shows, the dying agonies of the victim, and the crowning of the victors, amid the thunders of applause from Roman citizens.

On ascending to the top of the edifice, I found that it entirely overlooked the city, being much higher than it appears from below, owing to its vast magnitude. The theatre above is open to the heavens, and always has been thus. Its wall upon the top is yet quite perfect, and bound together by massive hewn granite blocks, of about two or three feet square, and ten to twelve feet long, laid on and cemented across the tops of the wall, and forming on the outside a part of the frieze, must remain there yet for untold ages, unless destroyed by a convulsion of nature, or the ruthless hand of man. There are many arched rooms in this edifice, for purposes to me unknown. I estimate the dimensions of the building to be not less than 2,000 feet in diameter, in form a perfect circle, within and without, and its outer walls sculptured in pannel work. This exhibition which I had just witnessed, it should be remembered, was on Sunday! And after I had witnessed it, I rode through the city, which is large and well built, with numerous gardens within the walls, and others in the environs. In the evening I retired, exceedingly fatigued, to my quarters, at the Hotel de Paris.

CHAPTER X.

TRAVELS IN FRANCE — CONTINUED.

Arrival at Montpellier — Professor L'Allemand, principal butcher of the Medical College — The Baths — Description of the city — promenades, aqueduct — Female Bankers — Cette, its commerce — Mail Boats on the Canal — Beziers, sheep and wool market — Narbonne — Perpignan, its fortifications — Passport troubles — Vernet, hot springs — Company at the Baths — Peasantry — Homeward bound.

At an early hour on the 29th, I left Nismes, and arrived at the city of Montpellier about noon, and took lodgings at the Hotel du Midi, (Hotel of the South) the best in that city for strangers. One circumstance I should here mention, as characteristic of the social condition of the French population : On our way to Montpellier, we passed a place where a new bridge was being constructed over a ravine. About 20 men were digging the earth to fill in with, which was carried to its place of deposit by about 100 women, in baskets upon their heads ! The women were stout built, and healthy looking. But to the eye of an American, the sex and their occupation seemed incongruous, and its effect upon the mind was, of course, unpleasant.

After establishing myself in my lodgings, I despatched a messenger to desire the attendance of the celebrated Professor L'Allemand, principal lecturer in the grand Civil de Medécine, of Montpellier. I had seen that professor at Marseilles, and came to place myself under his treatment ; who boasted to me that his new method of cauterizing, would change the nature of my disease ; and having submitted to that operation once, I need only

take a few sulphur baths, and could not fail of being radically cured in from 15 to 23 days. This was encouraging; and after having explained to me the nature of the operation, he advised me to take proper lodgings where baths were near, and where I could have proper care and attendance and be comfortable. In this he assisted me, and I got pleasant and well furnished rooms at the *Bains de Peyrou*, and a good nurse.

May 30, 1837 — To me ever memorable! At 5 o'clock in the morning, Professor L'Allemand entered my chamber with a young Spanish student, and desired to sound me for the stone in the bladder. I submitted, of course. He seized me with the energy of an executioner, and thrust an immense hollow tube into the bladder, lacerating all resistance; then by injection, filled that organ with nitrate of silver, (lunar caustic) dissolved in alcohol, which caused me as much agony as liquid fire; drew forth his instrument with the reckless energy of a butcher tearing entrails from a carcass; seized his hat, took up his instruments, and in an instant disappeared, saying, as he left the house amid my screams of agony, "put him into a hot bath." Totally unconscious, and unable to walk, they carried me and placed me in a warm bath, where I was kept for an hour, and thence again carried to bed, where, with no sedative to allay my pains, more excruciating than anything of torment of which I ever conceived, I was left without a visit, even of consolation, for 24 hours; though my attendant used the catheter for the removal of water once every hour during my fainting fits. I thus remained for about a week, during which time they could not stir me, nor could I raise my head without fainting; yet the hot bath each day was the only remedy; as that *professor* had determined that "all the ills that flesh is heir to," should be treated by surgical operations, only, thus intending to starve doctors in medicine, and druggists. He will not order any medicine by the mouth.

After I had come a little to myself, which I did but very grad-

ually, and without any abatement of my disorder, which was originally caused by a sudden cold contracted in 1833, on nearing our coast from a hot climate in the depth of winter ; the temperature of the air changing in one hour from 86 degrees, to 20 degrees, by the thermometer ; being a reduction of temperature of 66 degrees in 60 minutes, at which time my wet clothing was almost instantly stiffened by the cold. From that time I had suffered much, and had consulted and tried the remedies of many surgeons and physicians in New York, and other parts of the United States, many of them men of much celebrity in their profession ; and also surgeons of our navy, as well as English surgeons of both army and navy, at Gibraltar, at great expense, but without relief. And such, thought I, is the painful and miserable result of all my cherished hopes in visiting France, and the faculty of this old and much renowned medical school of Montpellier, and enduring this M. L'Allemand's "*cauterization energetique*," so emphatically insisted upon by that learned professor, as the best, safest, surest, and only remedy for my complaint. That he did his job most energetically, I admit ; indeed with brutal energy ; and I am also convinced, that had he proceeded with proper caution and deliberation, the same process might have produced quite a different result ; and would certainly not have lacerated muscles, glands, and membranes, as he did by his unfeeling haste, any more than by the use of a common sound to detect a calculus.

After remaining at Montpellier for 20 days, my *docteur* seemed anxious to get his money, and ordered me to go by the Languedoc canal and easy stages to the hot sulphur baths at Vernet, among the Pyrenean mountains, (about twelve leagues to the north-west of the city of Perpignan), and to take thirty or forty baths, and to drink of the water under the direction of a doctor to whom he recommended me. He never gave a bill to his patients, but received whatever they chose to pay him. I could not think of

paying, without at least an indication of what the learned professor expected ; and he being too delicate to mention any sum, would send his disciple Hidalgo, to tell me, and left me with many good wishes. Hidalgo came and told me that 2000 francs (about \$400) was the customary fees for that operation ! Sick, and in a strange country, I submitted to this imposition, and prepared for my departure. At the baths to which he had ordered me as part of his system for curing my case, I afterwards learned from two Americans, two Spaniards of great respectability from the Havana, and six Frenchmen and Italians from various parts of Europe, that each of them had been ill and traveled to Montpellier ; had been under the treatment of my professor, L'Allemand, and with different complaints ; two with liver complaint of hot climates, one for a cough and gathering on the lungs, one with lumbago, two with rheumatisms, &c. ; and on comparing notes, this doughty and so highly celebrated French professor had treated them all alike ; cauterized them as he did me, though not quite so energetically, took from them (rather depleting practice) from two hundred to four hundred dollars each, and then ordered them to take the sulphur baths of Vernet, for a month or more. We also learned with much astonishment, considering the disinterestedness of the man, that our Professor L'Allemand was a large proprietor in those baths — that he persuaded two old captains in the army to invest some of their money with him and erect suitable accommodations, and keep the baths and the principal hotel, a very spacious one, and that he would, of course, make it a point to send as many patients and customers as possible ; and thus he continues to coin money from his patients, to *bleed* them for a month or two after they have left his care. The doctor's portrait adorns the parlor of his hotel. After making these discoveries in relation to the doctor's practice and investments, we, his patients, read over the humorous description of Doctor Sangrado, who, for all complaints, prescribed *bleeding and*

warm water ; and, when satisfied that his practice killed every patient, still prescribed bleeding and warm water ; for Doctor Sangrado, like Doctor L'Allemand, had written a book commending this practice, and, of course ; could not retract his opinions, though he killed all his patients. We laughed not a little, over our being duped by this real and living Sangrado's tricks and extortions, though feeling the smart even while laughing ; and bathed in hot sulphurous waters amidst the thunderings, lightnings, hail, rain and tempests that every day fell around and upon us. Enough, however, has been said on this subject, to warn others from falling into similar hands. I will, nevertheless, simply state the fact, well known at the springs, that Doctor L'Allemand has already in the year 1837, (and this is June), received in gold and silver coin 60,000 francs — about \$12,000, for the operation of cauterizing ! And this besides his enormous income as chief professor, and his surgical practice in Montpelier, and his interest in the Vernet baths ; thus enjoying both honor and profit in his profession. Before setting off, being still very weak, I rode in a carriage around the city to observe its curiosities, &c.

Montpelier is a well and compactly built town, situated upon a steep mountain, as its name implies — *mont-pillar* — and extends to the S. W. and W. into the plains, where are many wide and well built streets, with large hotels, &c. The older part of the city, which is mostly built of hewn stone and from 3 to 5 stories in height, is exceedingly compact ; its streets and alleys, narrow and crooked, wind about the summit and sides of the hill : it contains a large and industrious population. The shops of all kinds are well supplied ; and the public offices, such as the prefecture, mayoralty, post-office, &c. &c. are large and commodious. There seems to be great wealth centred here, and a very large commerce is carried on with the interior, through the Languedoc canal, that comes near the city, and with the port of Cette, only 6 leagues

distant; and I found many ship-owners at Montpellier, who trade to South America and other foreign countries — real old French merchants, and perfect gentlemen. There is at Montpellier an extensive manufactory of woolen blankets — a superior article — which supplies all the south of France, and from which great quantities are shipped to the United States. A rail-road is laid out from this to Cette, and is purposed to be in operation in 1838 — that will make Montpellier a *seaport*. The rail-road is then to be continued 40 or 50 miles to the north, where has lately been discovered, in the mountains, coal enough, it is said, to supply all Europe. I saw the coal burning every day at the Baths, and think the quality equal, if not superior, to the Liverpool coal. — This is, literally, a source and mine of wealth for the manufacturers and owners of steam vessels in this region, who have been accustomed to bringing their coal from England, or rather of buying at high prices from English vessels.

Among the beauties of Montpellier, must be reckoned its beautifully elevated and healthful situation, and next to that, the works of art, that embellish and adorn that city. It has two of the finest and most beautiful promenades in the world: one styled *le Peyrou*, at the N. W. part of the city; and the other at the S. E., almost equally beautiful. *Le Peyrou*, is built upon the side of a steep hill, in two terraces. The wall of the lower one is, in many places, 30 and 60 feet high, built of massive hewn stone, and containing a level carriage drive of several acres, planted over with the finest shade trees, with two fountains pouring forth jets of excellent water, that falls into circular basins of considerable extent, enlivened with fish. The upper terrace of *le Peyrou*, also contains several acres, surrounded at its base, on three sides, by the lower terrace, and separated from and elevated above it, by strong and beautifully hewn stone walls, of from 20 to 40 feet elevation, with an elegant flight of stone steps on each side, as means of communication. The upper terrace is on a level with

the highest parts of the city, and is adorned by a fountain, under a triumphal arch upon all sides, and decorated by fine shady trees, in rows, among gravel walks ; and also a garden, with thousands of flowers, native and exotic, with a large basin or reservoir of water, clear as crystal, that flows thence and supplies all parts of the city ; the waters of this basin are alive with gold and silver fish, with other rare species.

The Great Aqueduct, that supplies the city with water, is from a hill to the N. W. and higher than the city. The stream is carried across a broad valley, upon arches of hewn stone, one massive wall standing upon the arches of the other ; in one part there are three tiers of arches, one above the other — bringing the level higher than the fountain on the north-west end of the upper terrace of le Peyrou ; and from the Peyrou, it is carried, upon a bridge, over one of the main streets of the city — that, leading to the Botanic Garden and Medical College — altogether, vast in its magnitude, vast in its magnificence, and vast in its expenditure. In a word, Montpellier is richly worth an examination by any stranger, no matter from what region or country. Its walks, its amusements, its fine landscape views of an extensive and highly cultivated country, and stretching also over the Mediterranean Sea far in the distance, together with the mountain ranges to the north-east and west ; presenting a combination of grand and beautiful scenery, seldom met with any where in the world. Here, however, as indeed in all the south of France, the common people speak no French — the language is quite different, called the *patois* of Montpellier, — the *patois* of the Provence of Languedoc, — of the Pyrenees, &c. &c. ; all of them languages essentially different from each other. But the soldiers, the public officers, landlords, and some of their domestics, speak broken French.

Desiring to get some silver changed for gold coin, that being more portable, I applied to my *banquiers* — the man of business of

Messrs. Z. Gravier & Fils ; he told me that men did not meddle with that business, only women changed money ; and I was obliged to find a *female money-changer*, in order to get \$400 changed, that I might pay two francs. In fact, the women know everything and do every kind of business in the south of France—act as porters, and do all sorts of drudgery, as well as the more delicate and appropriate domestic duties. But all the business women are married—there are no such persons as old maids, and but few widows, except some very old ones.

June 16.—I set off in a carriage, and arrived at the town and port of Cette about noon. I passed over a good road and through a cultivated country, until within two leagues of Cette, when we met with the sea-water, forming large sheets, or lakes, inside of a low sandy beach ; which sheets of water extend both east and west of Cette for many leagues, and forms a kind of Sound, or inland navigation, serving, to some extent, as the head of the Canal of Languedoc ; but we passed these waters on a good causeway. They meet the sea at Cette, through a canal about 18 feet wide, into and out of which the tide flows. Cette is a nice little port, formed principally by art ; its entrance is about 100 yards wide, and from the south-east, round a mole, upon which stands a lighthouse ; by doubling round which, to the west, in a minute you are in smooth water, in a basin secured from all winds. The port might contain several hundred of small vessels, not drawing more than from 10 to 18 feet of water ; and now has about 50 sail of brigs and ships, and the canal a greater number of boats, of various sizes, which, to Americans, have a *foreign* appearance. The town is small, though well and compactly built along the *quais* of the port : there are some good wide streets, and an abundance of shops and stores ; here you find quite a bustle of business, both by sea and inland. Large quantities of wine are annually sent from this port, and numerous vessels are employed in its coasting trade ; one steam vessel runs twice a week, to and from Mar-

seilles. A great number of vessels trade at this port, to and from the U. States, bringing out cotton, and returning with wines, brandy, and other productions of France. Cette is well situated for commerce, and when the rail-road to Montpellier and to the coal mountains is completed, must become a point of immense trade, and the port for the exportation of coal to supply the south of France, Spain and Italy. The population of Cette is said to be upwards of 15,000 : it is moreover a great watering place in the summer, being much resorted to by invalids and others, for sea bathing ; fish and oysters of a large size and good flavor, are here very plentiful. A conical hill of considerable height — the only one for a long distance on the coast — marks, from the sea, its situation.

There is an American Consul for Cette ; a Frenchman who cannot speak English, and resides 5 leagues from the port, on his farm — a great convenience this, truly ! Cette should be under a Vice Consul from Marseilles, until our Government, in its wisdom, sees fit to be like other commercial nations, and pay their Consuls a salary.

June 17.—I left Cette at 5 in the morning, in the Mail boat for Toulouse ; and we were towed by steam through the Sound, 8 leagues, to the Canal of Languedoc, and thence by two horses, 10 leagues, to Beziers, through a rich and very level country. Those Mail boats are very miserable things, about 60 feet in length, built very full, and 15 feet wide, with a light deck, and a bench on each side of the unfurnished cabin, about 20 feet long, for a few persons to sit upon, but not a chair nor a table on board ; nor could we procure a morsel of food, nor a drink, except from the foetid canal water along side. We had about 80 passengers on board, many well dressed ladies, as thick as they could stand, fore and aft ; and yet this is the great post rout from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic ocean at Bordeaux. Nor do the boats stop long enough on the rout, being hurried along by a bustling

conductor, (why are all conductors bustling bodies?) to allow the passengers to get a meal; they are consequently obliged to carry their own food and drink, or to buy some very suspicious looking cakes while passing the locks, or to fast during their journey. In fact, the French have very little idea of what Americans or English call comfortable traveling. I stopped at the port, which is a mile below the fine town of Beziers. This town is built upon a steep but large hill, and contains about 25,000 or 30,000 inhabitants. Being unable to walk, I was lifted into a cart drawn by a donkey, and managed by two female porters; and, with the baggage of the other passengers, among whom were three Englishmen, I was *carted* to l'Hotel de France. This was a large edifice, and on the side at which we landed, it was 8 stories high; while, after mounting four flights of stone steps, we found ourselves upon the *ground* floor of the other side of the hotel, looking out upon a large open square, upon which were then exposed for sale several thousands of good live sheep in the wool; and, on inquiry, I learned that this was the time of the Sheep Fair of Beziers. The sheep are driven here for market, once a week, through the month of June, from the Pyrennees, and from all the sheep-growing districts within a hundred miles. At the same time there are large quantities of shorn wool sold here. There were here hundreds of merchants and their clerks, and men of business, (*les hommes des affaires*,) who were making, and had made, large purchases that day, both of wool and sheep. The method of transacting business, as I learned, is this: A person buys what he desires and fixes a price upon it with the seller; the amount thus fixed is certified to by a notary in attendance, the purchaser takes his purchase away, and on the next market day brings with him the money to pay up his contract. This seems a good arrangement where specie is the only currency, and where every debt is paid in silver; for that article is too heavy to lug about with one upon any uncertainty. The laws against swind-

ling are so strict, and the penalty so severe, that but little fear exists on that account. I am told that the business done at Beziers in these annual fairs, in sheep and wool alone, amounts to several millions of francs: I dare not mention the amount; but the sum appeared enormous. Yet sheep are brought hence, to supply most of the market towns with mutton, all the way to Toulouse. Such is the fashion in France. Why this town was founded, and continues to grow and increase rapidly, upon the summit of a steep mountain, I am at a loss to conjecture. The buildings are of stone; the new parts are well built and showy, but the old parts of the town look miserable indeed. But in all the bustle of this fair, and among so many thousands of people of different classes, I did not see one in a state of intoxication: very different from a fair in Protestant England, or any of its dependencies. The sheep are not washed, in the south of France, before shearing, as in England and America; hence the wool in market is very filthy; almost as much so as that of Barbary, and of course requires washing before it is manufactured.

I left Beziers at 4 in the afternoon, in a private coach, for Narbonne; and after a drive of 6 leagues, I entered that ancient and fortified town, about 8 in the evening, being stopped at the gate and my passport demanded. I remained here over night, at an excellent hotel, whose amiable mistress did the honors of the table, while the master did the *cooking*! — This is not uncommon in France. After a brace of broiled squabs for supper, I had an abundance of strawberries and cherries for dessert; and though suffering from weakness and great fatigue, I got a good night's rest; and after breakfast in the morning of June 18th, I set off, in a *cabriolet du voyage* — a very well suspended chaise and pair — for Perpignan. The walls of Narbonne appeared old and neglected, as also did the houses within; but the basin of the branch canal, from the main one of Languedoc, alongside of the city, was well filled with boats; and its shores, for miles, were planted with

trees, forming a delightful walk among the fruitful fields and vineyards along this fine valley. Narbonne contains, they say, about 15,000 inhabitants, and was formerly much more populous.

I traveled all day, resting only two hours at a tavern at the road-side, and reached Perpignan just at dark. I entered through a long line of fortifications, once a drawbridge, and through a gateway, in the thickest walls I have yet seen, except those of Barcelona. Here is a large garrison; and this being the frontier town from Spain, my passport was demanded and taken, and myself conducted to a good hotel, kept by two maiden ladies, whose father kept it before them, and who had made vows of celibacy before his death; they are now about 40 or 50 years of age, but still very amiable, and not very avaricious.

Perpignan is a kind of Gibraltar: strongly fortified and garrisoned by 6000 troops, consisting of artillery, infantry, and cavalry; and I presume the city is under martial law, for the garrison seems to do as it pleases. This was an old Roman town and colony, and yet bears marks of its ancient importance. It appears nearly circular; the walls are of prodigious thickness, and about 40 feet high, surrounded by a ditch, which is of great width, and which can be filled with water at pleasure. Besides the massive batteries upon its walls and salient angles, it has heavy forts without the walls, and crooked covered ways, both at the south-west and north entrances. It is the frontier town next the Pyrenees and Spain, and of course is a point of much consequence, either to defend that part of France from any sudden invasion from Spain, or to prepare invasions of that kingdom, now in a most distracted state, by civil war.

Perpignan stands on a beautiful plain, bounded on the west by the Pyrenean mountains, about 4 leagues distant; on the east by a spur of this range, about 6 leagues distant; south by the Mediterranean, several leagues distant; and north by the Pyrenees, 15 leagues. It stands upon the right bank of the river Tets, a

considerable stream, from the Pyrennees, though not navigable except at high stages of the water. It is stated that, in former ages, Roman gallies entered the river from the sea, and came up to the town with cargoes. But the mouth is now choked up by sand-bars; yet by means of this river, and many tributaries, this whole valley is watered by a grand system of irrigation, and thereby it is rendered one of the most fertile and productive in France. In fact, these waters thus used, both in this valley and on the sides of the mountains, are more valuable than mines of gold; for they now render, and for many ages have been rendering in abundance, the necessaries and comforts of life to multitudes of human beings.

Perpignan carries on quite an extensive trade with Port Vendre, five leagues distant to the S. W.; consisting chiefly of wines, oil, wheat, fruits, cattle, &c. &c.: and I was much surprised to find in that city, rich shipping merchants and bankers; among whom is a M. J. Durand, who sent cargoes of fine wheat, in his own vessels, from Port Vendre to the United States, in 1836-7, grown upon his own neighboring estates. The wine shipped from Port Vendre is, like that of Catalonia, red, strong and good. The road from this city to Port Vendre is good, and mostly level; goods are transported between the two places for about 60 cents per ton — nearly as cheap as rail-road transportation. The city contains about 25,000 inhabitants. The buildings and walks are mostly of brick. The streets are crooked, and of all widths; certainly laid out and built many centuries ago, and filthy in the extreme.

After waiting a long time for my passport to be *vised*, and some altercation with the commissary, who seemed to think that I might wait for the Chief de Bureaux to enter it upon his book, and saying, that functionary was out of town, but expected soon, I got quite into a passion, and insisted that he dare not detain me for so trifling an excuse; that it was more than his master,

the Minister of the Interior, would do, whose name he might see upon my passport if he chose. Words grew high. "I was going to the springs for my health," I told him, and finally wound up by thanking God that I was not a French slave, but being a citizen of the United States, I defied his power and his malice; and said to him, "I shall go without my passport, although you are by it ordered to give me aid and protection in my journey;" and accordingly set off without it. "I will stop you with the gens d'armes," said he. "Try it, if you dare," was my reply; and drove off out of the gate at a rate as furious as was my passion, though my body was feeble; but I could not endure the jolting of the vehicle, and was obliged very soon to draw up. Before I had gone a mile, a detachment of gens d'armes came up, with the same commissary at their head, who desired me to stop and take my passport — said he was sorry that he had suffered himself to get into a foolish passion, and begged my pardon. I was sorry too; so he gave me the paper. Said, as an excuse, that he had been plundered that morning by a Spaniard, and hoped I would think no more of the matter, as his duty obliged him to be particular in those times of trouble on the frontier, etc. I replied to him, that his duty did not require him to be insolent to an *American*! and I advised him in future to remember that distinction; and then told him I was done. "*Bon jour, Monsieur*, I will see that you are more politely treated in future" — "*Je vous salue*" — and he returned with his gens d'armes, while I proceeded on my journey.

This matter of passports had troubled me in every place I visited in Spain — "El passaporte del señor?" always being the first question in a Spanish town or port. But they always returned mine, after dating their sight of it, for a small fee, except at Barcelona; there the Commandant de la Marina endorsed upon mine without fee, because I was an *American captain*! while all other passengers paid two dollars. I had also much trouble at

Marseilles, from whence my passport was sent to Paris to be viséd and registered by the Minister of the Interior, and was forced to get a new pass from the American consul, and paid \$2 for it,* and then go to the Prefecture in person, to obtain a pass for Montpellier; there I received again my old pass from Paris; nor did I get clear of these vexations and delays until I left the country of the "*Citizen King*;" a much greater tyrant, in my opinion, than ever was Napoleon; for, during the two years of 1808-9, when at the zenith of his power, I traveled over and staid in his dominions, and my character as an American was sure to obtain for me prompt and polite attention from all police agents.

The whole plain N. & N. W. from Perpignan was sown with wheat, rye, barley, grape vines and grasses, the latter mostly of the sweet and excellent Luzern hay, and yielding the largest crop I ever saw in any country. The whole district is also planted with olive trees, as large as apple trees, and now full of fruit; many of them 18 inches and 2 feet in diameter, and spreading out like the largest apple trees in America. All over this plain, and even upon the sides of the mountains for a thousand feet above the plain, every drop of water from the river, and from a thousand springs from the mountain sides, is saved carefully, and carried along for miles in channels, and turned at pleasure over the whole surface of the arable land—truly a mine of treasure.

Long before reaching the village of Proved, we had turned off from our north course to N. W., and wound up the valley where rushes out a branch of the river. After refreshing at Proved we proceeded, still ascending, two leagues above, to a strong fort, where a garrison of 100 men is stationed to prevent smuggling and invasions from Spain. It stands in a deep gorge of the mountains where two streams meet, and commands the pass. From this fort to Vernet is two leagues, rising rapidly all

* It would seem that our consul had less respect for an "American captain" than the Spanish commandant at Barcelona had; shame on such agents!

the way, and at the base of the main ridge, now covered with snow, stands the village of Vernet; like many other villages in this quarter, it is built upon the sides of a rocky mountain, quite steep, with a church crowning the summit, where the earth is supported by stone walls, on the lower side, from 20 to 50 feet high; and this is done to get a strip of land above, only a few feet wide, perhaps, where grow wheat, rye, corn, etc., which produce great crops from this system of watering.

The accommodations at Vernet are both spacious and elegant buildings, very well kept, considering that they are obliged to go every day to Proved, five leagues, for all their provisions and fruit. These springs produce a great abundance of water, issuing *boiling hot* from the snow capped mountains! The water is certainly strongly impregnated with sulphur, and, chemists say, with divers other medicinal agents. The baths are numerous, convenient, and well kept; the beds also are good, and the old commandants who keep them, polite and gentlemanly. The climate is, however, cold and moist; and we were visited in some part of almost every day in the month of July, 1837, during my stay, with most violent and terrific storms, attended with thunder, lightning, hail, and rain; though they assured me that it was very uncommon in other years. There was at the baths much company, mostly like myself, invalids, whose bodies and *purses* had been cauterized by Monsieur L'Allemand, and who, not content with his professional gains, sent them here in order to pluck another feather from them at his establishment at Vernet. There were also many military men, from the rank of general down to captains, some in the service, and some retired pensioners, many of whom had their ladies along, and many other ladies from Montpellier, Beziers, Narbonne, and Perpignan, (to which last town this is the nearest watering place,) who made the society quite lively and agreeable, for those to whom health permitted the enjoyments of society.

Both at this place, and indeed all over France, half the well dressed men you meet, whether civil or military, are decorated with the cross of honor, and wear the red ribbon; and I was a little surprised to find how much value each one set upon that mark of distinction. Although I well knew the frivolous and child-like vanity of the French, as a people, and their extreme love of show and parade, yet their fondness for this bauble was often ridiculous. I was frequently amused to see one of the old soldiers of Napoleon, though he never rose higher than a lieutenant, or at most a captain, in the army, (and several of them dined at the table d'hôte,) curl up his moustache before a number of moustached civilians at table, who also wore the red ribbon, take off his cross and shout at the top of his lungs, "*Oui, messieurs et mesdames, je suis decore du croix d'honneur! Oui, et par le main de le grand Napoleon, sur le champ de bataille de Jena, d'Austerlitz, de Wagram, etc. Oui, et j'ai mon pension d'une mille francs per an! cela est comme doit etre, honneur aux braves! souelis que ces messieurs out gagne le croix je ne sais vraiment; mais en tout cas ets n' out prette le pension!*"* This sally would set the table in an uproar of laughter; and the only notice taken of it by the decorated civilians was simply, "*c'est un brave sans doute! mais il aime le bon chire, au le vin.*" And thus the matter always ended.

It is admitted by the French that after the fall of Napoleon, and the restoration of the Bourbons, that dynasty was prodigal with the cross of honor, and by that means intended to generalize

* "Yes, gentlemen and ladies, I am decorated with the cross of honor, and by the hand of the great Napoleon, upon the fields of battle, of Jena, of Austerlitz, of Wagram, etc.; and I enjoy a pension with it, of a thousand francs a year. This is as it ought to be — honor to the brave! While these gentlemen got theirs, I know not how; but at all events, *they have no pension with it!*" To this sally some one of the decorated civilians would answer, "Yes, he is brave without doubt; but he loves good cheer, or wine." Intimating that he owed his bravery to his wine!

the distinction that bauble gave to its wearer, and thus dim the merit of the officers and soldiers of Napoleon ; and those old veterans feel and sometimes resent the indignity, and would any moment cross swords with any civilian who would take offence at their freedoms of this kind.

At the springs was a large hall for dining, playing, and evening amusements ; during the day all amuse themselves by walking, or riding ponies and mules up and down the steep paths of the mountains, and visiting an iron foundry in the next valley, &c., &c.

The people of this province though technically "Frenchmen," nevertheless speak no French ; their language is the mongrel Spanish of Catalonia, very difficult for even a Spaniard to comprehend, and altogether unintelligible to the French. But as I spoke both French and Spanish, I could converse with them very freely, much to the astonishment of the French present. They are a stout hardy race of mountaineers, who, however, enjoy more liberty, and live better, than the peasants in the rich valleys below ; for here nearly every family has made and cultivates his own garden, vineyard, or fields, on the mountain sides, and enjoys a sort of independent equality. All about, there is an abundance of soldiers, officers, police, &c., who are French, besides the keepers of the baths, and the visitors with their servants. Both men and women are extremely hardy ; they live upon coarse fare, and in hovels not so good, nor so neat, as stables in America. They raise many children, which seem to inherit health and activity. The females labor in the fields as much as males, but get only half the pay of the males ; that is in harvest time, one-half a franc, about ten cents a day. They mow and reap grass and grain, and then carry it home on their heads ; a single woman on the road with her load of hay upon her head, appeared absolutely to fill a space as wide as a carriage way. Their load is one hun-

that crosses the forehead, just above the eyes, and thus supported above their head and shoulders, they tramp up the steep paths of the mountain side, bent forward in a most singular manner.

All the common wine drank at these springs, is brought from Catalonia, in Spain, in the skins of goats, dogs, or calves, slung across pack horses or mules. These skins are taken from the animals by cutting around the neck, then turning the skin back over the shoulders, stripping it off thus from all the legs to the lower joint, then cutting off the legs, and so on, leaving the skin of the tail whole, so that by securing the two natural perforations in the skin, it may be filled with any kind of liquids, and by tying up the neck, when thus filled, every leg, as well as the tail, is distended into its natural shape. After skinning, when intended for liquor bags or bottles, they tan the flesh side, make it clean, then turn the hair side out, fill with wine, or other liquid, sling it across the mule's back by the legs, and thus travel with it any distance. Thus we see why in scripture illustrations new wine was put into new bottles, or skins, lest by its fermentation it should burst the old bottles, or skins, which were less elastic. This is the universal mode of carrying liquids in the mountainous regions of Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Turkey, the islands in the Mediterranean, in Syria, and all the East, as well as in the Barbary States; both milk and water are thus carried over the African deserts. Hundreds of ships are loaded annually with wine and with oil, wholly brought to market in skins, upon camels, horses, mules, and asses, in and about the Mediterranean sea, and Barbary.

After remaining at Vernet a month, and finding that the use of its waters did me no essential service as to my disorder, though the bracing air and exercise had invigorated and strengthened my body, I took leave. I embarked at Port Vendre, in the steam dred pounds, tied around with a cord, and that put upon a band

ship Phœcien, and returned to Marseilles ; having settled my business there, I took passage in the steamer for Gibraltar, touching as on our route up, at all the chief towns in Spain, where the war was still raging ; at Gibraltar I took my passage for New York in the brig Potomac, Capt. Hitchcock, and safely arrived at home, in September, 1837. •

CHAPTER XI.

Commercial disasters of 1837—Capt. Riley's losses—Letter to Mr. Willshire—Wreck of the "Home"—Letter to Commercial Advertiser on Steam Navigation—French spoliations—Mr. Tipton's Letter—Mogadore trade continued—Grand cavalcade to visit the Emperor of Morocco—Muley Solyman—Present of a Lioness—City of Morocco.

CAPT. RILEY, as has been noted, arrived at New York in September, 1837, having spent the spring and summer of that year in the south of France. During the period of his sojourn in France, the whole commercial world was convulsed from centre to circumference. Bankruptcy and ruin, was the fate of thousands, who had previously stood unsuspected as to their solvency; and hundreds of the oldest, and, indeed, ablest commercial houses of Europe and America, sunk under the tempest of the monetary revulsion of that period. Merchants at every commercial point were anxiously awaiting every arrival from their correspondents abroad, to learn who and what houses had failed since their last advices; while the letters of those correspondents were mostly made up of lists of those who had gone down within the vortex of that financial Maelstrom! Business was stagnant; credit and confidence gone; distrust and suspicion arose among those who had formerly placed implicit reliance in the honor and ability of their business associates; dismay and gloom sat upon almost every face, while the anxious inquiry of all was, "What is the end of these things to be?"

Secluded, as Capt. Riley was, among the Pyrenees; removed from the business circles, and in a manner shut out from the hubbub of the commercial world, he of course knew not of this storm

of ruin that was raging among his commercial friends, on both sides of the Atlantic, only by the fearful echoes which it sent to points the most remote and secluded. And yet he was among those who, in those fearful times, lost his earthly all. The house of A. Rossiere & Co., with whom he was then associated, as was also Mr. Willshire, in the business of the Mogadore trade, being very wealthy, and being conducted with the utmost prudential wisdom and sagacity, weathered the storm in safety; yet, to do this, immense sacrifices and losses were sustained by the failure of others around them. These losses of course had, in due proportion, to be sustained by Capt. Riley, as a party jointly concerned. The balance sheet and account current of their Mogadore business of that period, shows that their cargoes amounted in value, at cost on board, to about \$150,000 per annum; of this amount, Capt. Riley, in a letter to his intimate and fast friend, Gen. John Tipton, of the U. S. Senate from Indiana, states his personal profits to be about \$10,000 per annum. This was in the year 1835-6. In 1837, Capt. Riley had gone into France, for the benefit of his health, entrusting his interests to the management of his friends, leaving his capital in the business entirely untouched; being furnished with a letter of credit, from Mr. Willshire, on the house of Salavié, Fils & Co., at Marseilles, for his current expenses while in France; and he returned to find that his all had been borne away upon this current of desolation. Writing to Mr. Willshire, after his return from France, under date of November, 1837, he says:—"For myself, the turn of times, and commercial convulsions, have swallowed up all of my share in the profits arising from the trade I have lent my efforts to carry on with you for so many years and through so much toil and trouble; leaving me, at the age of 60, nearly worn out, and suffering under grievous infirmities, *penniless*! But at this I do not complain: it seems to be so decreed; and for the short time yet allotted me still upon earth, I hope to conduct myself so as to

ensure the good will and respect of my friends, and the community of which I am a member, — conscious of my integrity of purpose, in all my transactions, and having exerted myself, according to my best ability, to foster and promote the interests of Messrs. A. C. Rossiere & Co., as well as those of my elder benefactor, I submit to this providence of an Overruling Power, which seems to render my exertions as worthless, as the worm that makes them."

The disastrous wreck of the steam-packet "Home," on the Atlantic coast, in the fall of 1837, which is doubtless well remembered even at this time, caused at that period a painful and deep sensation in the public mind. Being an experienced navigator, and a man of uncommon powers of discernment and close observation of *everything* about him, at home or abroad, and having then just returned from voyaging on the coasting steam vessels of Europe, Capt. Riley had settled in his mind many valuable improvements and suggestions in relation to our steam navigation. In October of 1837, while the public attention was agitated by the incidents attending the loss of the Home, he addressed a communication to the "Mercantile Advertiser," for publication. And as that article embodies many useful practical ideas and suggestions, some of which have been, and some others evidently ought to be, adopted in this country, the article is deemed worthy of a more permanent publication.

" NEW YORK, Oct. 27, 1837.

AMOS BUTLER, Esq.,

Editor of the Mercantile Advertiser :

On reading the account of the wreck of the steam vessel 'Home,' and the destruction of such numbers of human beings, when in health and fancied security, has made my blood run cold, so that I cannot resist the desire of stating a few facts, furnished by my own experience on board of European steam vessels, and

some observations that may prove useful to others in future. I have seen and been on board of many steam ships that have plied constantly, for five years past, between England and Gibraltar, on the most stormy portion of the Atlantic Ocean in winter, and from Gibraltar to and from Malta, on the Mediterranean Sea, where sudden and violent storms raise such abrupt and overwhelming waves, as render the navigation of that sea still more difficult and dangerous, in winter, than that of the Atlantic itself.

Those vessels have continued to carry the mails, and a large number of passengers, for five or six years, without meeting with a single serious disaster, or even a detention of any consequence, and with as much regularity as the mail-coaches in England; and are considered safer than sailing ships. During the present year, it was my lot to go, in the French steam vessel *Mediterranean*, of Marseilles, from Gibraltar to Marseilles, in the early and boisterous part of the season, (March,) touching at all the principal ports of the south and eastern coasts of Spain, and to cross the stormy Gulf of Lyons, during a gale of wind so violent, that an English frigate, of 44 guns, and a large sloop-of-war, were lying to, under close reefed main-top-sails and storm-mizen-stay-sails, and laboring heavily; while our steamer dashed along, like a gull, in perfect safety, on her course to windward; although the angry waves would occasionally break on board, and the cold was so intense, that she was literally covered with ice.

The Mediterranean steamer was built in France; has an English-made engine, which, with all the machinery, works under deck, driving the wheels by two oscillating cylinders; has an English engineer, who is perfectly acquainted with steam engine building; has his forge and tools on board, for making repairs; has high wages, and on board ranks equal with the captain. From Port Vendre to Marseilles, and thence back all along the coast of Spain to Gibraltar, on my return, I sailed in the splendidly built and furnished steam-packet *PHOCIEN*, 175 feet long, and

drawing 10 feet water. This vessel was also built in France ; has an English-made engine of 140 horse power, with all her machinery under deck ; her common speed is ten miles an hour ; her engineer is a Mr. Charles, an Englishman, who served his regular apprenticeship in making steam machinery, and afterwards served two years on board an English North Sea steamer. This engineer, also, ranks with the captain of the vessel ; has high wages, and important trusts are committed to him ; he has run the Phœnicien two years, during winter and summer, in the most stormy parts of the Mediterranean, without meeting with any accident, though encountering, very often, the most violent gales and tempests, that wrecked on the same rout many stout sailing-vessels. Those vessels, as well as all English, French, Spanish and Austrian steamboats, use nothing but coal for fuel ; and although their fires are kept near the bottom of the vessels, with no more air than is admitted by the hatchway-gratings, yet they get up their steam, so as to start their boats, in from fifteen to twenty minutes after lighting their fires, as I have very frequently witnessed.

From my own experience and observation, it is my opinion decidedly, that steam vessels properly constructed and well managed, are as safe upon any sea as vessels propelled by sails ; although, before I had tried them, I was much prejudiced against steam vessels at sea, having navigated sailing vessels about 40 years.

To make a steam vessel perfectly safe, she should be built of such dimensions as to length, breadth, height above water, &c., as are required for any good sea vessel of equal tonnage, and finished off in a similar manner — with no projection of the deck, and the wheel guards and wheel houses should be so attached to the vessel, that if carried away at sea, no leak could occur in consequence, there being no opening through the hull of the vessel except those necessary for the wheel shafts. Then, again, all the machinery should be secure under deck, and no more *houses* upon deck than on a sailing vessel ; no promenade deck, but

good and sufficient awnings fore and aft, to ward off sun and rain in light weather, but to be taken in during gales and storms. She should, furthermore, be rigged with two masts like a schooner, but one-half lighter in masts, rigging and sails, than a sailing vessel of her burthen ; and both the yards and sails forward should be so contrived as to be readily hoisted from and lowered to the deck as occasion may require. In the next place, she should be commanded by a man of known ability, and experience as a seaman and navigator. In France, Spain, Italy and Germany, a man must not only be a seaman and navigator, but often those qualifications are established by a rigorous examination by a board constituted for that purpose by appointment of the government ; he must also prove his character for prudence and *sobriety*, before he can be employed as a captain or mate of a steamboat. And, lastly, the engineer should be a man of a good character, thoroughly and practically acquainted with the construction and repairing of the engine and all its apparatus, and should rank as a captain, to make him respected on board. He should be allowed to appoint his under engineers, and should carry along his forge and necessary implements for making repairs, should they become necessary during the voyage.

With such precautions and preparations, I have no doubt but steam vessels, with sufficient fuel, may navigate any part of the globe, with a degree of safety, equal, if not greater, than any other vessel. As regards the wreck of the "Home," it is obvious, from the Captain's first letter to Mr. Allaire, after her disaster, that he was aware his vessel leaked badly before passing Cape Hatteras ; and, that common prudence should have admonished him to run instantly close to the land, and thus be enabled at any moment to run her on shore by the aid of her engine, in order to save the lives entrusted to his care ; but it seems that his anxiety to get along on his course predominated."

Capt. Riley had been a sufferer to a large amount by the spoliations of the French on our commerce during the war with England ; and the commissioners on " French claims " for indemnity, allowed him but \$3000, which was, in truth, an insignificant portion of his loss. Subsequently, some questions had arisen in 1838, with regard to the technical propriety of the French blockade ; and some of the statesmen at Washington had been consulted in relation thereto, by Capt. Riley, in a letter from him to Gen. Tipton. The following is Gen. Tipton's reply :

" WASHINGTON, 16th June, 1838.

Dear Sir : I was much gratified by the receipt of your letter of the 9th inst. Besides the gratification of hearing from an old friend, you always communicate information and useful suggestions ; especially to one like myself, placed in a position where your experience in the matters of our foreign intercourse is essential to a proper discharge of public duty. I was once in a foreign country, where I found an inefficient officer of our government, and I cannot forget the mortification every American expressed at his imbecility and inefficiency. Such men as have been at Tunis, for the last ten years, are a disgrace to our country. I have made two efforts to change that state of things, but failed in both.

Mr. Clay requests me to give you his respects, and say to you that the law of nations recognizes the right of blockade by a friendly power of another, provided there is force to maintain the blockade, and the rules that govern neutrals be strictly observed. He views the course of France as *bold*, but thinks there is not sufficient evidence of a violation of our treaties with her, in such a manner as to warrant us in taking steps against her here.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN TIPTON.

Capt. JAMES RILEY."

The Mogadore trade was still prosecuted by Capt. Riley and his friends, through the years succeeding the disastrous period of 1837. Situated as Mr. Willshire was at that period, was, of all others, perhaps the most embarrassing, as well as the most harassing and oppressive. His commercial transactions extended to most of the chief ports of Europe, besides those with the United States in connexion with A. C. Rossiere & Co., and Capt. Riley. His exportations of the produce of the Barbary States from Mogadore, were immense; his consignments were, consequently, of great value. His residence at Mogadore, upon the very verge of civilization, placed him in a position where he could only hear the confused echoes from the financial and commercial crashing in Europe and America, where his own fortunes were at issue, and in hands of he scarcely knew whom, except by reputation and correspondence; and equally ignorant of the hour that should bring him tidings of the loss of all for which he had spent long years of toil and expatriation of himself and family from his native country. At the same time he had suffered some serious losses by disasters at sea of his vessels, united with the necessary increase and complication of his business in his own counting-room, all together induced a derangement of his nervous system, and a general decline of health. For the restoration of his health, relaxation from business was deemed indispensable. But it was not until the fall of 1839, that time and opportunity occurred for this purpose. In the fall of 1839, Capt. Riley had again sailed for Morocco, and arrived at Mogadore in the last of September. In the course of the following month, a grand cavalcade of Moorish dignitaries and merchants were to make a journey to visit the emperor at the city of Morocco. It was determined, therefore, that Mr. Willshire should join this excursion in a semi-official character, and that Capt. Riley, being then detained in business by this movement on the part of the merchants, should accompany Mr. Willshire. The details of this journey

and incidents, will be given in the following chapters. Before setting out, however, Capt. Riley, in a communication to Messrs. A. C. Rossiere & Co., under date of October 6, 1839, thus speaks of their contemplated journey into the interior. He says :

“ It is my intention to accompany the Consul and cavalcade of merchants to Morocco, with a view to promote the interests of our trade with this Empire, in an interview with the Emperor. Yesterday, we sent on board 100 bales, (wool) and hope to get another loading off of 60 or 100 more before the Governor (of Mogadore) leaves, as he is also called up before his Majesty, to give an account of his stewardship, and expects to start in four or five days with the packages of goods and money for some time past accruing at the Custom House here ; and as nothing can be done without his presence, I fear that we can do but little more than receive and have the cargo packed for shipping on his return, which will be, it is said, in about two or three weeks. This caravan is very large and valuable.

The caravan of merchants in which I go, is composed of about 250 or 300 men — drivers, soldiers, servants, and merchants ; and from 300 to 500 camels, horses and mules, to carry them and their presents, merchandise, and stores ; making a goodly show. We are to set off tomorrow morning, and as every motive will urge Mr. Willshire's quick return, I hope to be back in two weeks ; as we shall not wait for the ceremonious and tedious motions of the Sons of Abraham,* who, moreover, are compelled to await the imperial order to depart, as well as to come to him, and his guard of safety and protection ; for paying which, the “ sweat ” of Christian borrowed money, or goods generally, is levied upon heavily, and interest is now 5 per cent. *per month* ! As Mr. Willshire has already made ample provision for the journey, my expenses will be but trifling.

* Almost all the resident merchants are Jews.

A son of the emperor, aged about 17 years, arrived here a few days ago. He is called MULEY SOLYMAN, after the name of the late emperor, his grandfather ; as his mother is the favorite wife of the emperor ABDEBAHMAN, now reigning, it is believed that this young prince is intended as successor to the crown, (although there are elder brothers,) and that this prince is sent here "to finish his education," and to learn the course and value of trade between this and the christian world. He is a fine, amiable looking youth ; he travels in lordly style, with about 300 imperial troops for escort, to which are added the bashaws of the provinces on his route, with their retinues, and also *his nurse and her women*, and the officers of the *household* ! He is now domiciled in the same house that was occupied by the bashaw Ben Abredick, when I first visited that chief in 1815, on my arrival from the desert."

At this time Mr. James R. Leib, whose name has frequently been mentioned, had been removed from the U. S. Consulate for the empire of Morocco, at Tangier, and Mr. N. Carr appointed in his stead. Upon his return from this journey, Capt. Riley having occasion to correspond with that gentleman, spoke of his visit to the emperor, etc., etc. Writing under date of Nov. 19, he says :

"I accompanied the merchants of this place and Saffy to the city of Morocco ; had an audience with his majesty ; was received with honorable distinction as an American, and an old trader with his majesty's subjects ; was presented with good wishes in abundance, and a large *Lioness* ! and returned here on the 8th inst., with my friend Mr. Willshire.

While at that capital we heard that an American doctor of great celebrity was expected in that city soon ; I presumed it was Dr. Mayhew, whom I had the pleasure of seeing at Gibraltar. If so, I have a good opinion of his good sense, talents and

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MULEY SOLYMAUN,
Son of the Emperor.

prudence, all of which will be required for successful action among these people ; and more especially the *last item* ; since, if by any accident a patient dies, his death is charged to the doctor, although every one will ask advice and medicines, yet but few will take any other medicine but such as they are taught to believe will increase sexual desire, or promote sensual enjoyment.

After five weeks stay at Morocco, in view of promoting commerce between our two countries, I am truly glad to return from an old and ruined city, and its vast and arid plain ; intersected, however, by almost innumerable aqueducts, old and new, mostly under, but some above ground, leading from the foot of the ever snow-capped Atlas range of mountains. Northwest, towards the Tensift river, many of these tunneled works are twenty or thirty miles in length. They water the city and its numerous and extensive gardens, or rather orchards, of fruit and ornamental trees and shrubbery, with patches of garden vegetables, borders of flowers and grains, and alcoves of grape vines. Those enclosed within the *Tapia-built walls* that surround the city, made of the earth dug near them, contain many thousands of acres, in which most of the fruit trees of the temperate and torrid zones thrive most luxuriantly ; and on all parts of the plain of Morocco, the immense labor of bringing the snow-water from the mountains is repaid by the fertility it ensures to the soil. These costly, yet useful works, have been the boon of different emperors ; and the reigning monarch has added vastly to their extent and utility : for no private individual can afford the expense of works of such magnitude ; but each pays tribute for the water he uses ; and the various fruits are sold from the gardens annually “to the highest and best bidders,” to enable even the Imperial treasury to defray the expenses. How grateful should those people feel, who are blessed with a rich soil, good seasons, and an abundance of water from the heavens, falling upon the just and the unjust,

without fee or reward to man; fertilizing the earth and cooling the atmosphere; while on the plains of Morocco, drouth and suffocating heat during summer dry up the vegetation depending upon nature, and render the whole a desert; and yet in sight of, and nearly under, the eternal snows of Atlas.

I hope to sail hence for New York in ten days.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES RILEY."

CHAPTER XII.

JOURNEY TO THE CITY OF MOROCCO.*

Capt. Riley's Journal — The Caravan — Wholesale begging — Sand hills — Encampment — Hassan Yusef, the Rabbi — Appearance of the country — The Desert — Caravanserai — Atlas Mountains — Sherhawah — The Gazelle — Tesar Solimo — A Jewish turn-out — Moorish Wells — Rabble Escort — The City of Morocco — Jews' Quarter — Solimo's house — Jewish Family Devotions — Interview with El Hadze Hamet Argney — Presents for the Emperor — Suburbs of the city.

BEING at Mogadore in command of the American brig, 'Wm. Tell,' of New York, and as my friend and deliverer from slavery in 1815, after my shipwreck and captivity among the wandering Arabs of the desert of Sahara, was on the eve of visiting the capital and the emperor, my cargo not being ready, I determined to accompany him and the Jew merchants on their journey; to see whatever was to be seen on such an interesting expedition.

Our caravan consisted of sixteen merchants from this place and Saffy, though some were in a small trade, yet each had had consignments of a vessel, or vessels, from Europe, and thus having paid some duties to the government, and become indebted also by the Moorish system of credit, universally seized upon by native Jews as the means of carrying on business, are termed *Tesars*, or merchants of the emperor.

The number of camels that carry imperial presents, of mules and asses to carry the Jew merchants and their baggage, tents,

* Journal of a visit to *Maracksh*, of the Moors; Anglice, *Morocco*; and as the Spaniards and Italians call or spell it, *Maraccus*; and *Maroc*, of the French. I think the English version best, and therefore employ it; premising, however, that all over this continent, where the Arabic is spoken, it is called *Maracksh*.

etc., and the horses rode by the Christians, and the Moorish guards of each, amounted to near five hundred; but the camels traveled separately, and left only about three hundred other beasts; with their riders, drivers, and servants, near three hundred men.

At starting, and even before mounting, the streets and houses were thronged with Moors, in many instances well dressed, and some Jews, poor and miserable, men and women, all begging for money. As all the merchants were to make presents to the emperor, these, with loud vociferations, insisted on a share. I had been previously cautioned against this, and advised not to give anything, and accordingly rode on through the dense crowd, being pulled and hauled and bridled on every side, but gave them nothing, telling those who intercepted my way that I was but a poor captain, and had nothing; at the same time telling them to *squeeze* the *Tesars*; and thus I passed for half a mile without the city. Mr. Willshire, however, could not get on so, and began to give small coin at his house, in order to be permitted to pass; and then all the way for four miles upon the road he was frequently stopped, and could not get on without stilling the multitude by free distribution of coin, large and small. His pockets were rifled in the crowd, and gloves and handkerchiefs were taken, though he was on horseback, the Moors thinking this a privileged day for them among Jews and Christians; and I verily believe that Mr. Willshire must have thrown away not less than \$100. The last was given among the sand hills, four miles from the city, where men were running with white bowls of milk, into which we must dip our fingers and sprinkle some on the manes of our horses, to ensure a pleasant journey; at the same time dropping coins into the dish.

This wholesale mode of begging, or rather forcing money from the merchants on such occasions, is a time-honored custom. Several of the Jew merchants were some hours in getting out, and

over the sand hills ; stopped every instant, giving money and having their pockets rifled, which the Moors look upon as an honor to the Jews. ('Tis wonderful how that people are abhorred over all the earth, by civilized and barbarian !) One of them averred that he had a hundred dollars picked or forced from his person, besides what he had given away ; and all swore that they were never before so harshly *honored* in all their lives ; I have no doubt but that more alms were given, or taken, on this than on any former occasion ; for respectable Moors continued to harass Mrs. Willshire for several days after we set off, and to receive small sums ; and upon our return, the 8th of November, a similar scene of begging and demanding money by men and women, lasted for two days. I notice this as a peculiar custom of Mogadore.

Having got clear of beggars, we rode on about six miles to a cistern, called *Metfeah*, and halted and refreshed ourselves after the fatigues of mounting and starting. An immense range of sand hills, some of which were three hundred, or perhaps four hundred feet high, and quite steep, formed of driving beach sand, each with a sort of peak at the south side, and a deep bay where the sand is whirled out by the wind (always at a gale here) to form others ; their appearance like high waves of the sea ; soft footing, and undergoing continual changes ; give a pretty good idea of the boundless sands I saw on the desert of Sahara.

After refreshment we continued on our route, traveling over a hard and rocky soil, of a limestone formation, with many thorn bushes and argan trees, a sort of cedar, about 15 feet high and 6 inches in diameter. The surface is undulating. We proceeded about three leagues and pitched our tents amongst a grove of fine large olive trees, at 3 in the afternoon.

The appearance of our encampment — with thirty-four stout, white and ornamented tents, with rich linings of chintz, rising to a ridge of five feet, and bedsteads in each, made for the purpose,

sacking bottoms, 18 inches from the ground, with mattresses, sheets and covering, and nice curtains over each, with the ground under the tents covered with Turkey carpets and mattresses, or folding chairs to sit upon ; also a portable table in the centre, loaded with bottles and glasses, and plates with cakes, fruit and sweetmeats — was, upon the whole, not only rich and imposing, but wore an air of substantial comfort. While our dinner was being prepared we made a tour round among all the tents. This is also an old custom ; and in each, were treated with cakes, sweetmeats, brandy, wine or cordials. After due salutations and many compliments, we returned and received the visits of all the merchants in town, as Mr. Willshire had overstepped the requirements of etiquette in paying, instead of receiving, first visits.

Hassan Yusef, the Rabbi of the Jews, and the most magnificent among them, lived in the grandest style ; had the best house in Swearah, and the best in the Millah at Morocco ; and, though exercising the business of a merchant, is more of a chief priest. This man, twenty years ago, married a Miss Guidalla, heiress of a very rich and honorable family at Mogadore. His wife had no children, and four years since, this Rabbi was divorced from her, and married her neice. The second wife had two daughters, but no son, and died. He then tried to marry the remaining sister of his last wife, a girl of some sense and independence. She told him that he had killed her two sisters, and she would not suffer as they had, but would sooner lose her fortune, (which he had already absorbed,) and beg for a living, than to marry him. At length a relation at Gibraltar, a widow with six unmarried daughters, offered him his choice of them ; he accepted one, and she accordingly came on with her mother, who was very poor, and another sister, some two years since, and the Rabbi was married to her.

Tuesday, October 8th, 1839. We started long before daylight, and having had a slight breakfast, took leave of several

friends, and Mr. Willshire's second son, who had come out with us to see us on the road ; and while they returned to Swearah, we pursued our route eastward. There was a kind of caravan-serai near where we stopped, with a well of good water, *one hundred and fifty feet deep* ! around which were several buildings, all of similar construction, where we obtained barley and straw for the cattle. The country here had an aspect of fertility, and signs of farmer-like cultivation, with herds of cattle, sheep, and goats ; the land is undulating. At 9 in the morning we passed a " saint house," and near it a market, in the open air, attended by many hundreds of people, with horses, cattle, mules, asses, sheep, goats, skins, grains, fruits, and various kinds of pottery ware, rough and coarse *haicks*, or blankets, and carpets. It seemed well attended, and is called *Sack el Emschan*. A fine spring is near the *Sack*.

Turning aside under some fig trees within walls and fences of thorn bushes, we stopped an hour, upon a wheat field, to refresh, and then continued our route through a hilly region, along a well watered valley, where, though the argan tree still prevailed, we found many groves of olive trees, and several of the date palm, shooting up in a clear stem of sometimes fifty feet, with an umbrella like top. Much of the surface is covered with small stones, and appears sterile and dry ; yet buildings are common on both sides, and there are also several cisterns and springs, whose waters, carried in drains, are made to fertilize vegetable gardens. At 4 P. M., we cleared the hilly and woody region, and soon entered a little valley, and pitched our tents at a fine spring of clear water, gushing out from among rocks with a current sufficient for a mill stream, and running off over a pebbly bottom five yards broad and about two feet deep near its head, where many small fishes were securely swimming about, and numbers of turtles ; we caught four of the latter for soup. Here Mr. Willshire's Jew agent met us with grapes, pomegranates, and melons, from

the little town of *Alleremah*, (Beloved.) Indian corn was in the milk, (Oct. 8th,) and we found it excellent when roasted and eaten from the ear. But the growth of this, as well as of other vegetables, was obtained by irrigation. This spring, a mile below us, is joined by another of similar character, and runs thence to the Tensift river, making its borders fruitful all the year round.

Wednesday, Oct. 9, 1839. — From 3 o'clock in the morning, all was bustle and confusion; coffee and tea were made, mules loaded, tents struck and packed, and we were mounted and *en route* by daylight, or about 5 o'clock. We soon entered upon a desert and elevated plain, as even as the ocean, and nearly as barren of vegetation. The surface is mostly covered with stone; not a human habitation, not even a tent, for five leagues, where we finally reached a caravanserai, built many years since, in a square form, with corner turrets and one gate; it has small rooms, not more than eight feet by twelve, within the walls, which are of tapia work, and about twenty feet high, for protecting commerce in this dreary region. This is the "Saint House," Sidi Ben Muctah; we there stopped to refresh, and then rode on. At about 12, we came among some barren knobs or hills on our right, one called from its long and bare ascent of many miles, the Camel's Neck, and right below it a cistern, dry as a powder mill, however, and we pushed on over the plain, becoming as we proceeded a little less desert like. For the last six hours of our journey on the plain, there were large knobs or hills on our right about a league distant, with several strata of rock rising one above the other, but in horizontal layers, appearing like an elevated sea beach from which the waves had retired, leaving one inclined plane below another of about two feet elevation, leaving shelving ledges of rocks, from under which the earth or sand had been blown or washed away. And in the distance, towering far above these cliffs, the magnificent range of Atlas mountains, bounding the horizon in the south-east, reared its lofty summits, which,

though at the distance of sixty miles or more, shone from the top apparently half way to the base, white with never melting snows ; while the blue outline of its base appeared like high volcanic islands in the midst of the ocean — such as the Canaries, Cape deVerds, Azores, some of the West Indies, St. Helena, &c. Not far from our route on our left arose several hills, or abrupt eminences, of a round form and table topped, towering some hundreds of feet above the plain, like so many little islands, with sandy and gravelly sides wholly naked and but a few hundred feet in diameter. Some of these also appeared on our right ; and at 2 P. M. we come upon one larger and higher than the others, right ahead. At sight of this our guard cried out, “ *Shesharvah ! Shoof Shesharvah !* ” we see *Shesharvah* — yet we pushed on about four hours before we reached this singular eminence. It rises like a cone, and appears like a castle on an immensely high and fortified eminence. Rumor or tradition says, that when the Portuguese invaded this country, their army, not very numerous, pushed on for the city of Morocco — this was in the fourteenth century — but were stopped here by the sudden overflowing of the river at the foot of this singular eminence, where the *Shesharvah* branch of the Tensift, coming from the Atlas, crosses this immense plain ; and that while they were waiting for the waters to subside a few days, they took possession of this hill, and fortified its summit as well as they could, for protection against the Moors, who were constantly increasing in numbers to stop their march, and threatened to cut off their retreat to Saffy, three day’s march to the northwest, where the Portuguese had strong fortifications ; that, being surrounded by the Moors, this little army, only 600 strong, was compelled to make a truce and return to Saffy, harassed by the Moors, and never again attempted to take this capital.

Near the foot of this hill we crossed the *Shesharvah*, now a small stream, and encamped on its right bank in an old field ;

our company being too large to enter the caravanserai near by, and too strong to fear depredations from robbers that might be prowling about the country. Having refreshed ourselves, Mr. Willshire, Leonard, (his son) and myself took a walk, accompanied by the sheick, to visit the buildings. The outer walls are made of tapia work, and of the earth and stone near them, pounded in a plank box about eight feet long, four feet wide, and three or four feet high, moistened by water, during the process, and thus formed into blocks of those dimensions ; these are laid upon each other like hewn stones, and the joints filled up and the surface coated over with clay ; these walls, thus made, when dried by the sun and heat of the climate, become exceedingly solid and durable. The walls of this enclosure are about 20 or 25 feet high, and about four feet thick ; the length on the outside, along the right bank of the river, is about 200 yards, and about 150 yards broad, forming an oblong square, running nearly northeast and southwest, having a large and solid gate in the middle of the southwest wall ; within is an open space of 120 yards by 80, for camels to encamp ; then a centre wall dividing the main work ; and, in the two eastern corners, were pitched two tents, each containing a family of Arabs. The tents were guarded by a hedge of dry thorn bushes merely laid upon the ground around them, while beyond the centre wall were many tents of brown cloth, each containing a large family of men, women, and children, half clothed, and disgustingly filthy ; around each tent a number of dung-hill fowls, and some lambs, whose mothers had gone to graze, were sporting ; also, a beautiful roan mare, of a fine breed, fastened to pickets, whose owner, it seems, would not sell her for any price whatever. Along the centre, and two other division walls, and, also, on that on the northwest side, rooms were built, of the same materials as the wall, 12 feet high and 10 feet wide, covered with round wooden rafters and terraced with pounded earth. These rooms, not less than 40 or 50 in number, were

either used as store-houses, or as stabling for sheep, or dwellings ; most of the people, however, live in open tents. Upon the tops of these terraces were placed baskets made of split canes, about 10 feet high by 6 across at the base, in form of bee-hives ; and I at first concluded that, as some were plastered over with mud, that they were huge bee-hives, and that this must be a *honey* country ; but upon a closer inspection we found them to be simply *corn-cribs*, for preserving Indian corn in the ear ; as many new ones were near, quite open, like basket work, filled with ears of corn, left thus to dry before the rainy season, (as it was now the corn harvest) and then to be plastered over like the others. The women and children ran away at our approach ; but were easily brought back by the offers of distributing to them some *ounces* — a small silver coin, 16 to the dollar — this gave us grace in all eyes, and although the place was quite populous, yet not one clean looking woman or girl could be discovered. We next descended the bank into the many fields, some with dry thorn bushes simply laid in rows upon the ground, where fine droves of neat cattle were feeding in the newly cleared corn fields. This river bottom is rich, and is here about 300 yards wide, irrigated by the help of a ditch dug as high as possible in the high bank, and into which the water enters a mile above from the stream, and thus every field is watered at pleasure, and enriched by the alluvion brought down by freshets ; the whole is very productive. This will serve as a general description of the caravanserais of this country ; and all their inhabitants seem to possess the same characteristics — they are dark colored, like mulattoes, but have long coarse hair ; they are rather below the middle stature, filthy in the extreme, badly clothed, and the women carry their children on their backs, and submit to all sorts of drudgery, even more than the females of the American Indians, whom, indeed, they greatly resemble in looks, and in manners and customs ; except in this country there is little wild game, and the pastoral state prevails consequently, instead of that of the hunter.

At every caravanserai, or even tent, there are many dogs, hungry, barking and biting animals, which however keep a good watch, and drive off intruders; and yet they belong to no one in particular, and take up their stations near human habitations for a subsistence, from the offal of families, and by picking up the bones cast away by travelers. This species of dogs, which throng about every town and city, are between the grey-hound and wolf — fierce, fleet, active, wakeful, and at the same time good watchers, docile and gentle to all during the day-time. After ascertaining the peaceful character of travelers, they will, after night, keep watch over the goods of a stranger, with the same fidelity as those of the *dauhar*, caravanserai, or town.

After surveying these places, we returned to our camp; took a good supper of soup, &c., slept away our fatigues, and at four o'clock on Thursday morning, Oct. 10, struck our tents, and at early dawn proceeded on our journey, over a stony, flat surface, and a bad road. The hill of Shesharvah, towering above the plain, was in view until ten in the morning, when it was hidden by our passing a hill. The Atlas range, grand beyond any description, seemed actually to approach us — its summit formed in rounded eminences, not in the form of sugar-loaf or crater-like points, but in long table-like surfaces, which thus gave it a rolling or undulating appearance, like fertile fields, yet covered with snow many thousand feet below those ridges, forming a blue horizon, dark at the bottom and of dazzling whiteness above. Not a cloud is to be seen — not a breath of air is stirring; the plain is smooth, uncultivated, *barren*, or with only here and there scattered over its brown surface, nearly covered with rolling stones, are a few thorn bushes and dwarf prickly furze, in bunches.

At 12 M. we passed a small caravanserai, with rooms on one side only; the remainder was an open yard, more than fifty yards square, defended by large winrows of dried thorn-bushes, laid upon the ground; and all around, except at the open gate-way,

were other large enclosures, separated by dried thorn-bush fences, and in which the inhabitants had pitched their brown and open tents, each covering a space of about twenty yards in diameter; while stacked around them, were straw and stalks of Indian corn for fodder, and much poultry, with many sheep, goats, cows and asses, in the vicinity. These inhabitants are *Shellahs* — from the foot of Atlas — the original inhabitants of these regions before the Saracen conquest; a wild and pastoral people; they have embraced the Mahomedan faith. These various caravanserais are scattered along the rout from Morocco to Swearah, for the purpose of protecting the commerce from robbers, that might, and often do, prowl about upon this desert waste, where each loaded camel pays, for its night's protection and lodging, about four cents. — Having had many hundreds, or thousands of loads of produce pass in that way, on my own account, within the last eight years, this charge has of course become quite familiar to me; but it insures protection.

Before Swearah was built, some eighty years since, there was no route, between these two points, across these arid and nearly desert plains. There was one to Agador, passing through the fertile region near the mountains; one along the banks of the Tensift, and that cultivated region, to Saffy; and one to Mazugan, or Azamore, farther north; and these were all that tended towards the sea coast. Nor is there yet a direct route from the city of Morocco to Fez, the sister capital; but that from Fez to Rhabat, and thence by Azamore to Morocco, is the nearest.

Journeying along upon this plain we saw, on our left, about thirty miles distant, a ridge of dark, naked hills, whose eastern extremity seemed nearly ahead; and at 2 P. M., on mounting a small eminence, our guides cried out, "*El Kautoubiah! shaaf el Kautoubiah de Maracksh!*" — We see the steeple of the Kautoubiah of Morocco! We could not see it with the naked eye, but soon after, by aid of a telescope, descried that lofty monument, at

a great distance on our right, just peeping above the horizon. During the whole of this day, and part of yesterday, we had seen herds of the beautiful, light-footed antelope, called the gazelle, bounding over the arid and endless plain; some were quite near; they seemed to tread on air, and fly like passing shadows. The earth here began to be more frequently seen among the stones; and in place of rocks rising above the surface as usual, the soil began to assume a clayey appearance, and bushes became more frequent, and green at a distance. We stopped for refreshment under the shade of some barren trees, near the path; then pushing on, we came to the south branch of the Tensift river, now a mere brook; but after great rains, it becomes impassable for many days. We passed this branch and encamped in a valley near its right bank, where we were soon joined by the whole company, and pitched our tents for the night. Both men and animals of our cavalcade, had this day made a journey of forty miles over a bad road, and were nearly worn out; but we all took courage in the expectation of reaching the city early on the morrow. The banks of this stream are cultivated; and on our left, for the last three hours' ride, we have seen, at the distance of ten miles or more, several isolated but lofty palm trees, and more vegetation: for the main Tensift river runs along the southern foot of the dark hills, twenty miles north of us; and its waters, skilfully disposed of on both sides, make the country glad with the cultivation of maize and other vegetables; and fine fields of maize also lie along the valley near our camp.

After a good supper of cuscussoo, fowls, eggs, &c., we slept away our fatigues. This evening we were here met by Mr. Willshire's Jew agent at Morocco, Solimo, or Solomon Carlous, an old man, and one of the most respectable among the sons of Judah, residing in that capital. He brought fresh bread, fruits, and other eatables, and had a servant along, with his tent, in case accident should detain us. I have known this man for several years, and

esteem him and his two sons very highly. I shall speak of him in other places, and show how much he and his people suffer from their Moorish tyrants : we met him here with great satisfaction.

Oct. 11.—Early this morning we started for Morocco. The tower of *Kautoubiah* continued all the time in sight. By nine o'clock, we began to meet throngs of Jews riding out of the city, to meet their friends and brethren, on mules and asses, galloping away like mad. About ten o'clock, we came in sight of long lines of palm trees ahead, and stretching off towards the Tensift. We soon came among them, and dismounted to refresh ourselves and await the arrival of an imperial escort, expected soon ; inasmuch as the friends of the Emperor, three in number, who had accompanied us from Swearah, had sent forward the night before, and advised of our approach. Spreading our carpets here under the shade of these majestic palms, whose tops were filled with rich clusters of yellow dates, a sumptuous breakfast, consisting of warm and white wheaten bread, smoking omelets, and various other savory dishes, hot from the ovens of the capital, was laid out ; to which all of us did due honor, more particularly as care had been taken to bring out plates and *tools* for the Christians, by the sons of *Tesar Solimo Carlous*, with leathern and glass bottles of Jew brandy ; and, after due greeting, all became very merry.

Here, on the banks of an open aqueduct, formed of lime, cement and pebbles, above ground, about three feet deep and three wide, bringing water from the foot of Atlas, twenty miles to the southeast, I first tasted the delicious, clear, pure water, from the melting snows of that ever snow-clad and ice-bound range of mountains, that now seemed almost overhanging us ; and I here felt that this stupendous work of Providence, alone makes this region of plain and arid Africa habitable for man and animal, and better than the desert of Sahara ; for, even now, in the middle of October, the heat is wonderfully oppressive, and vegetation all around is almost scorched upon the parched earth. I here

learned that the Jews are never permitted to ride within or through the gates of Morocco ; or even to walk in or out without taking off their slippers and carrying them in their hands, except when the merchants are called up to see the sultan ; and that event had not happened for nearly five years before this. On these occasions every Jew who can afford it, may mount a mule or ass and go out without any restraint to meet the merchants, and enter again, *pell mell*, with them and their servants, without those humiliating submissions. Such an occasion is consequently seized upon with eagerness, as a great holiday, by all who can possibly muster money enough, or friends, to hire or buy an animal to ride upon. Yet these animals cannot be horses or camels, for no Jew is allowed to mount a horse or camel in the empire ! Hence, old and young, came thundering along, beating time upon the mule or donkey with big sticks, and drumming away against their sides with their bare legs and slippered feet, to hurry them along. By the time the guard arrived, there was gathered a very host of Israelites, to join in the procession in the best manner they could ; they were all clad in their best attire ; all highly elated by the importance and privileges of the occasion, and rendered brave and consequential by copious draughts of brandy.

The arrival of high officers of state to direct our march, with a guard of about fifty horsemen, was announced ; all hastily mounted. The master of the horse ordered all to halt, came up and saluted Mr. Willshire, whom he invited to go on in a front rank with myself and his son, and an Italian named Bolale, who called himself a Christian, and settled as a merchant in Swearah a few years ago. And thus, with an Imperial guard ahead, the governor of *Siedmaly*, a friend, on our right, the Jew merchants, Hassan Joseph, and Ameram Elmaleh in the second line, and Ben Ady and twelve others in the third, we sat off at a round pace for Morocco ; and very soon came in sight of the many steeples and walls of the city. We traveled along lines of wells extend-

ing from southeast to northwest as far as the eye could reach, and not more than half a mile distant from each other. Our paths lay nearly at right angles with these ranges of wells, which I had noticed from distance to distance nearly all day yesterday and this morning, by the masses of earth of reddish color around their mouths, raising the ground ten or fifteen feet higher around the wells than the level of the plain. We passed on between them on narrow foot ways, in some places only wide enough for one horse, in other places wider; wondering all the time what these appearances should mean. But riding near the brink of one of these wells, into which a fierce Morocco Jew had nearly pushed my horse and myself, by running against us at full speed, seated upon a mattress, I then saw, at the depth of twenty feet or more, a large stream of water flowing swiftly to the northwest. This informed me at once that these lines were all aqueducts, dug like wells to a proper level, and then tunneled between them; this, I afterwards learned, was the common practice, and that nothing but the common earth supported the sides and arches over these immense and useful works.

As the guards moved on rapidly, the Jew merchants encouraging each other, strove which should be foremost; and their friends and servants pushed along with baggage, tent poles, bedsteads, etc., etc., like so many devils hot with excitement. To save ourselves from being crushed in the *melée*, we had turned aside and let the mass move on; but as soon as the officer of the escort missed Mr. Willshire and his suite, the Moorish guards stopped short, drove back the rabble, servants and baggage, paraded the Jew merchants in a line, and requested us to come and form in a front rank, which we did; and the soldiers rode on again. But, no sooner were their horses heads turned towards the city, than the struggle again commenced to see who should be first to enter, each crying "*heigh wa*," (rush on,) "*American, Tesar Yusef, Tesar Solime*," etc.; and we were again and

again driven by them out of the ranks, and fell to the rear, not desiring to be borne down and trodden under foot by the fierce and drunken mob. No less than five times did the Moors stop the cavalcade to bring us forward; and finally, growing impatient, the head officer, shaking his cane, swore that he would give *palo*, (stick) "to them devilish Jews."

Crossing a good open stone aqueduct on the southwest side of the city, they approached the gate of entrance between the south eastern city wall on the left, and large gardens and Imperial palaces on the right. Here again all the Jews, probably one thousand in number, were crowded together in the rear of the horse guards, and were again stopped by them in no very gentle terms, and without great ceremony forced them to give way and clear a passage for us to pass up to the gate in front, on a bridge over a stream close to the walls. Mr. Willshire, mounted on a fiery Arabian roan stallion, a most beautiful animal from the Imperial stables, now heated with exercise and excitement, prancing and caracolling under his rider, himself a fine figure, tall, and neatly dressed, with his son on his right and myself on his left, attracted the attention of the multitude; and thus escorted, we entered the city of Morocco. And though so frequently stopped by knocks, threats, etc., the Jews hurried on as fierce as ever; and after we had passed between two walls, and before the gates of the Imperial gardens, being again pressed by the multitude of Israelites, we turned aside, and begged the officer in command to let those fierce descendants of Judah go on to their *Millah*, or Jews-quarter, of the city.

Having passed three more double gates, we entered a large enclosure, called here a garden, richly planted with olive, pomegranate, and quince trees, and stopped at a delightful pavilion of masonry on the centre of the southern wall. Here we dismounted. This was the residence appropriated by the emperor to the Christians; and the Jews were permitted to pitch their tents in differ-

ent parts of the garden, or rather *orchard* of fruits. Here, then, our beasts were unloaded ; and after taking some refreshment, it being about 1 o'clock, we proceeded to take a survey of our *Jenen*, or garden. It is about 250 yards square, with four walks, crossing each other at right angles, cutting the garden into squares. Each walk is shaded and adorned with a row of large olive trees, about 18 inches in diameter, and perhaps 50 feet high ; the walks are about 20 feet wide, and are handsomely graveled. The interior of the squares is filled up with pomegranate bushes, about 15 feet high, and spreading out their delicate and slender branches to a diameter of 30 feet, now loaded with the largest fruit of their kind, and quite ripe : red, yellow, and green ; and many of the boughs are resting on the ground to support their heavy burdens of delicious fruit. Here are also the finest quince trees I have ever seen ; but their fruit has been gathered. A border quite around this garden, of perhaps 60 feet wide, is planted with wheat and vegetables, and the whole is watered by a fine stream entering near the gate, and by proper conduction is carried around every where.

The morning had been overcast with floating clouds, which had rendered our entrance cool and pleasant ; and now, the sun bursting forth in the ardor of his glory, made us appreciate the delights of a shady grove, and of cooling streams of bubbling water around us : contrasting this with our hot, thirsty and dusty journey across arid wastes and interminable desert plains, our hearts bounded with happy sensations in the present enjoyment of this earthly paradise. Tesar Solimo, however, told Mr. Willshire that his house in the *Millah*, or Jews' town, was prepared for our reception ; and urged us to become his guests, as he was Mr. Willshire's agent ; and as he had spent, at two different times, three or four months at Mr. Willshire's, in Mogadore, and had large quantities of his goods in store on sale ; and was, besides, the purchasing agent of the produce sent hence for shipping, and

for several years had aided me on commission ; and above all, as Mr. Willshire knew that his house and family were prepared for and expected us, and would make us very comfortable, we resolved to accept his kind invitation. We accordingly mounted our horses, and passing through a gate in the northwest wall, soon found ourselves in the midst of the *Millah*. Passing through several dirty streets, and the open market square, among dirty looking one story houses, built of brick and earth, and terraced, and among a dirty, ragged throng of Jews of both sexes, we finally halted in a narrow lane, about ten feet wide, before a good door, and were ushered into Tesar Solimo's house. This was built round a court of forty feet diameter, neatly floored with terrace work, with rows of pillars supporting the roof, which projected eight or ten feet on all sides over the court, forming in summer a cooling shade, and all newly whitewashed.

After being welcomed by his wife and daughters-in-law, all fine looking women, and the women of the house, who all claimed the privilege of kissing our hands, we were shown to our apartments. One room, large and spacious, with a ceiling twenty feet high and painted, was the dining room ; and at one end of this was a good room, with American bedstead and curtains, a bureau, washstand, and American chairs, was offered to and taken by Mr. Willshire and his son ; another room, similarly furnished, was prepared for myself ; and we forthwith became very comfortably domiciliated in the house of our Hebrew friend. This furniture I had previously brought out from New York to Mogadore ; and it formed a singular contrast to the furniture of all other houses in the *Millah* ; for in them mats and carpets, or cushions, are the only furniture, and these are placed near the back walls of the rooms, and serve to sit upon by day and to sleep upon at night.

We found the floor of the dining room richly carpeted, a good and large table spread, in the European style, with Liverpool china tea sets, plates, and dishes, silver spoons, good English

knives and forks, glass decanters, with cut tumblers, wines, salts, &c. &c.; all of which he had furnished himself with in order to make his guests comfortable, and all laid out according to what he had seen at Mogadore. We had a good dinner, in which our host and his two sons, men of good appearance and manners, and a merchant by the same name, a relative from Mogadore, joined. Our dinner was soup, cuscussoo, mutton, and fowls cooked in various ways; and a good dessert of grapes, most delicious pomegranates, and other fruits. This being Friday, the day of preparation for their Sabbath, we took a nap; and afterwards, near night, took our tea. Before sunset, to-morrow's dinner was prepared, sent and put into an oven, not to be taken out till to-morrow noon, (the Jewish Sabbath.) The house, too, was carefully cleaned, and the candles and lamps lighted in every room; as no manner of work must be done from this time till after sunset Saturday, or *Sabbath*, evening; and hence all the females, at least, find one day in seven for rest.

Soon after sunset, Tesar Solimo, being patriarch of his family, seated himself, with his two sons and some kinsmen, to make up the charmed number, *seven*, around a table one foot high, four feet long, and two feet wide, upon a carpet. The table was covered with a white linen napkin, and twelve small loaves of bread, upon each corner and in the centre, were placed upon it, looking white and nice; then a cup of wine. The whole company began to read, or recite, aloud, some sacred writings, or prayers, in Hebrew; each in their own tone of voice, speaking rapidly in a singing tone, waving their bodies back and forth, and with most sanctimonious countenances and fierce gesticulations. Having finished, they all at once cry out, "*Amen!*" They then arose, took each other by the hand, in a circle, said a few more words in Hebrew, stamped with their feet, and broke the chain of hands. The patriarch then broke the bread into small pieces, ate one, and gave one to each person present, who likewise ate it; he then

drank of the cup of wine, and gave it to all, who drank from the same cup, and again said, *Amen!* This finished the ceremony. I afterwards observed that this was their constant custom, on every Friday evening.

After this ceremony, the agent, Solimo, went with Mr. Willshire, a little after dark, to pay his first visit to the Prime Minister, attended by two Moorish soldiers, one carrying a lantern. He returned within the hour, having seen his Excellency the minister, and considered it a favorable reception, so far as regards whatever he might desire from the Sultan, in commercial facilities.

After passing Saturday as a Sabbath of rest from our journey, eating with the Jews their hot baked beans, swimming in marrow from the bones of beeves, called *skanah*, with roasted meats and eggs, which had lain in the oven since Friday afternoon, all fat and savory, (the constant Sabbath dinner of all Jews in this country,) and taking another night's rest, we were quite refreshed, and concluded to occupy our time to the best advantage. So, having learned that *El Hadze Hamet Argeney*, the Bashaw of Teradant and upper Suse, had just arrived, with presents, &c. for his Imperial Master — the said Bashaw being well known to both of us, he having for several years been Military Governor of Mogadore — we determined to pay him a visit.

Sunday, Oct. 13. — At 8 in the morning, we mounted our horses, and, escorted by our guards, rode through the only gate, or outlet of the Millah, guarded by Moors; and after traveling in a south-west direction, between old walls, and turning many sharp corners among gardens, passing through many gates, &c., we were finally ushered into the *Jenen*, or garden, allotted to the Bashaw. Entering a court thronged with soldiers and Moors of quality, we were announced at a small door, and soon were conducted, through several empty apartments, into the presence of the Bashaw, in a room about twenty feet long and ten wide, with terraced floor and painted sides. The Bashaw was seated, cross-

legged, on a carpet, with cushions near, to lean on ; upon his right a Prince of the blood, and other dignitaries sat beyond him. — There were piles of silver coins before him, which he was counting over ; while guards were around, and at the only door. On our entrance he partly rose, extended his hand to Mr. Willshire, whom he received and welcomed as an old friend, then took me by the hand and Leonard Willshire, with many compliments ; begged us to be seated, had a carpet spread for that purpose, and a pile of cushions for each to lean upon ; a mark of especial friendship and favor. He then went through a long series of compliments, usual from great men to their equals ; meanwhile, leaving all other business, made many kind inquiries as to our health, and having ordered in materials, Mr. Willshire's Jew broker, David, quite an orator in his way, and who was with us, made the tea, which was then handed to us, to the Prince, and the other Moorish gentlemen, several cups each ; while the Bashaw, in a business-like manner, was going on with his work. Having divided his silver into two portions, he tied each up in a white handkerchief, neatly folded, and sent them by a soldier, together with several bundles of goods, already prepared in the same way, as presents to His Majesty, on his first visit. While thus preparing, the old Prince, Sidi Mucktah, whispered in his ear a moment ; then a servant advanced, and received from the Bashaw a quantity of silver coin, which, not satisfying the princely beggar, the Bashaw very reluctantly, as I thought, unlocked a trunk near him, and added another handful of money ; whereupon the Prince retired, taking ceremonious leave, satisfied, and in a good humor. Many other Moors of distinction came in, saluted the Bashaw, passed their compliments, and retired. Mr. Willshire made a movement to withdraw, but was detained about half an hour, in taking tea and in familiar conversation. At length, knowing that business pressed him, we said our *salam* and retired, with many compliments, good wishes, and blessings from

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the urbane dignitary. Threading our way back, we paid our garden a visit, for rest in that shady and lovely spot. Bashaw el Hadze Hamet Argeney, is of middle stature, lively, well informed for a Moor, and possesses, in an eminent degree, suavity of manners, and dignity of deportment. Rumor says that, although he has governed Teradant and Suse but two years, yet his present to the Emperor, tribute, &c., consisted of 100 negro men and 70 negro women slaves, 100 camels, 100 mules, 100 fine horses, sixteen mule loads—about 4000 pounds—of *saffron*, twenty mule loads of copper ore, very rich, from the mines of Suse, and \$30,000 in specie. Those articles are said to be over and above the tenths of grain and oil, and twentieths of fruit and cattle, the Sultan's annual dues by the laws of the Koran. The goods were rich stuffs from Timbucto, or Soudan, and the value was unknown to the Jews; also, twenty-eight carpets, of the largest and finest patterns, and 535 mounted muskets.

Monday, Oct. 14. — After breakfast, we went to our garden and gave Master Leonard Willshire his first lesson in riding a mule upon an American saddle. He acquitted himself well; galloped finely. After this exercise in horsemanship on a mule, we returned to the *Millah*, where Mr. Willshire was all day busied in preparing and packing his various articles intended as presents on presentation to his Majesty. The practice of the merchants at Morocco, desiring an audience with the Sultan from time to time, to make known to him their condition as regards trade and commerce from abroad, and to petition for privileges regarding exports and imports, and for diminishing the duties fixed by the Sultan on certain articles, was long ago adopted in order to become known personally to the Sultan, who is the *fountain of honor*, and whose will, in all cases, is law. And as no person can see his Majesty without presenting something worthy of a sovereign's acceptance, so all wish that their presents may prove acceptable. After this presentation, all, in a body, or some indi-

vidual merchant, asks, in return, some privilege in relation to trade, which is generally granted, at least to an amount of double their outlay in presents ; and often much is conceded to an individual well known to, and whose character is respected by, the Sultan and his Minister, for he now has but one — *Sidi Moham-med Ben Idris* — who is constantly busy.

The most usual presents consist of superfine broad cloths, red, green, pearl, (indeed, of all colors but black,) in cuts or patterns of seven yards each ; fine brocade silks of costly patterns, inwrought with gold thread and showy colors ; fine cotton cloths, both white and printed, of costly and showy patterns ; the finest silk velvets, scarlet, crimson, and green, in pieces of eight yards ; fine damask silks of various colors, also in pieces of eight yards ; china tea-pots, and the best French and English porcelain, richly gilt ; fine cut glass decanters and tumblers of a small size, gilt ; large mirrors of finest plate glass richly mounted, and beautiful cut chandeliers ; one beautifully carved and highly polished high post mahogany bedstead, with rich canopy ; china plate, dishes, and bowls, to hold two gallons ; and salvers of brass, very large ; and ornamental clocks, and silver watches, for officers' of state acceptance ; the finest and most costly hyson tea ; and double refined loaf sugar, in the proportion of half a pound of tea to two 4 pound loaves — a friend of mine presented thirty pounds of tea, and eighty 6 pound loaves of sugar — no joke !

As to the custom of packing the presents : All, except the fine cloths, silks, and velvets, are packed in boxes made of planed inch boards, with sliding top ; and each parcel of fine cloths, brocade, silks and velvets, is first neatly folded in a fine colored silk handkerchief, and these put into smaller boxes ; then, all the boxes are first covered over with brown linen, sewed on, and over that a nice cover of white cotton cloth nicely fitted. Then each box is written upon by a Moorish *talb*, with red ink and a reed, the name of the donor and a list of its contents in Arabic char-

acters ; each box is also numbered. As I had determined to visit and see the Sultan with Mr. Willshire, in order to solicit some privilege, I had prepared presents accordingly, consisting of only five boxes, while those of my friend amounted to twenty-four ; many of which were too large to be carried by men ; workmen were employed all night, as busy as possible, in making boxes and preparing them, making a hideous noise.

Tuesday, October 15. — Mr. Willshire was all day employed in his preparations, packing, marking with the *talb*, and making lists. So taking Leonard, and *Muley Seid* for our guide and guard, we mounted and rode out of our garden at the gate we entered at ; we passed out of the city at a gate on the northeast side, and turning to the southeast we rode along, near the Imperial garden wall, southeast, about three miles. Half way along this wall (which is supported with square towers of tapia work at every 50 yards,) is a fine white fortress, lately built, and mounted with cannon. Our route led us directly towards the Atlas mountains, which, at the end of the garden, appear almost overhead, yet 15 miles distant. Their rounded summits, and sides, half way down, judging by the eye, covered with masses of snow and ice, glittering in the sunbeams like a mountain of silver, too grand and brilliant for the eye to dwell upon, lead the mind to that source of bounty which has provided in this weary land “ the shadow of a great rock ” — built here the “ eternal hills,” and reared their heavenward summits to an elevation to cool, collect, and condense the evaporating moisture escaping from the parched earth, and sending it down again in streams from its melting snows to fructify and beautify the arid plains below, and thereby render this region inhabitable.

After turning the southeast corner, we rode along about two miles across the southeast end of this immense field, called a garden, crossing two aqueducts, one under ground and the other above, leading quite large streams of water through the walls for

watering the gardens, then turning to the northwest we rode back about three miles along the wall and near the Imperial palace, seen within, and on the main path leading from the villages to the foot of the Atlas. These paths were now thronged with *Berebers* of both sexes, with numerous mules and asses, going to and from the city; as we rode along, all whom we passed, stopped and ran to gaze at us, and particularly at Master Leonard, who was a remarkably fair, and fine looking lad of 12 years of age, dressed in a frock coat and hat, and managing his own mule. With his fair and delicate complexion, and his European equipments, he was an object of great curiosity and admiration to these Moors; yet not one of these people, consisting of all ages and conditions, let fall a disrespectful word, or attempted any insult to the strangers. After about three hours ride, in a scorching sun, we entered the city at the same gate where we at first entered it, and returned to the cool shade and purling streams of our garden. The country over which we rode was flat, apparently a dead level as far as the eye could reach to the east, and to the foot of the Atlas, which at this distance seemed to rise suddenly from the plain, as though laid upon it, to the height of near 20,000 feet, judging from the appearance of the snow, so low upon its sides; as, in this latitude, the lowest line of the region of perpetual snow cannot be less than 10,000 feet, particularly where the land below is so level, hot and arid. And I am quite confident that I have seen this mountain head bearing S. S. W. true from Morocco, and 40 miles distant from this as they say, when 20 miles at sea due west true from Mogadore, then bearing east by south true, and not less than 170 miles distant, from any ship's deck, in longitude $10^{\circ} 55'$, which is the longitude of the city of Morocco by careful observation. The plain over which we passed, and as far as we could see, was nearly covered with rounded stones, among which grew very many thorny and prickly shrubs; the soil was clay and sand; and many parts bore marks of former

or recent cultivation, though now not a weed, nor spire of grass, or grain is to be seen; yet along the artificial brook of water large quantities of cane grow to the height of 20 feet or more; also, some grass and weeds. We also saw the ruins of a stone mill, which stood over the stream, but the wheels and machinery had been removed; and about half way on the southwest side was a fine open reservoir of fresh water, about 50 yards square, at which men and animals may slake their thirst.

Wednesday, October 16, was a busy day. My presents were packed, consisting of two cuts of broad cloth; two pieces of damask silk, scarlet and green, eight yards each; two pieces of the finest velvet, crimson and green, eight yards each; two pieces of twenty-five yards each of fine white muslin; eight pounds of best hyson tea, in a beautiful caddy of lacquered ware, with *lock and key*, and twelve 6 pound loaves of double refined loaf sugar; each two pieces folded up in a new silk handkerchief of fine pattern, and the whole packed in five boxes, with sliding tops, then covered with brown linen, and over that, white muslin; numbered and marked "*Rais Riley*," in Arabic; and, on each, a list of its contents. Yet, inasmuch as I was to be presented by Mr. Willshire, my presents went with his, and were noted on his written list for the Emperor's inspection.

Some difficulty occurred in finding Jews enough that were fit to carry our presents, there being twenty-nine packages. But, long before night, that was arranged; and all the boxes were sent to our garden; for the prime minister sent early today, and informed Mr. Willshire, that the Sultan would give him and all the merchants an interview tomorrow, at seven o'clock in the morning. So, having trained our Jew porters in the court, and taught them to exclaim all at once, on seeing the Emperor, "*God save the Sultan, and Tesar Willshire's presents!*" After a good supper, we retired.

CHAPTER XIII.

VISIT TO MOROCCO — CONTINUED.

Preparations for interview with the Emperor — Moorish soldiers — Ceremony of Presentation — An Imperial Welcome — Fright of the Jew merchants — Gardens of the Palace — Pilgrims to Mecca — Visit to the Prime Minister — Ride through the City — The shops — Moorish mechanics, their industry — Burial place of the Emperors — Quarters of the soldiery.

THURSDAY, October 17.—Long before daylight we were roused by the noise and bustle of the Jews; the *Millah* was alive with them; as they were getting out the presents of the Jew merchants, and carrying all to the garden to be ready. We took an early breakfast and then walked to our garden, where our horses were ready saddled. A very tribe of Jew porters, fierce as lions, attended; each grabbed a box. Our company consisted of Mr. Willshire, mounted upon his fine Arabian, his son Leonard and myself, on fine mules, and twenty-nine porters with six loaded mules, and Tesar Solimo, with David to direct them; each man with a white box on his shoulder. We set off for the great square before the palace garden, followed by our train; there we were joined by all the Jew merchants and their trains. On our arrival here, we were met by the Grand Master of ceremonies, who saluted Mr. Willshire cordially, and told him that we might proceed mounted; and he, with a guard, led the way to a gate upon our left. Entering between high walls and pavilions, we proceeded a quarter of a mile southeast; and after passing another gate we found ourselves in a large open square, with a

pavilion and gate upon our left. Here we halted, and our loaded mules and porters, with the boxes, entered by that gate, escorted by guards ; all others with presents, also halted here.

At this place about five hundred foot soldiers from the city passed us, with numerous officers. The soldiers were all dressed in white shirts and drawers, over which was a white *susham*, or cloak, sewed together about one foot across the breast, and falling down to the calf of the leg, with holes for the arms, and a hood lying upon the back ; each soldier had on a red cap of a sugar loaf shape ; their legs were bare, and their feet thrust into yellow slippers ; they were armed with long Moorish muskets, with stocks carved and inlaid with silver, and clumsy Moorish locks. They came running along without any kind of order, but were fine looking men, generally young, and of *all colors*. These troops, the Sultan's guard, having passed, five magnificent horses were led in by grooms, dressed in white *haicks* ; the horses were white, grey, chesnut, bay, and brown ; all richly caparisoned with red silk and velvet head-gear, Moorish bridles, green silk reins, and high saddles, trimmed with green silk cord and damask housings ; they showed truly fit for an Emperor !

An officer soon came from the Emperor and desired us to advance, which we did for another quarter of a mile ; there we dismounted, and leaving our horses in the care of our guards, we proceeded on foot about fifty yards to the end of the avenue. Here we found that all the presents had arrived before us, Mr. Willshire's first, and were held by Jews seated on the ground. The Master of Ceremonies desired Mr. Willshire and his party to stand in front of his presents, and marshaled all the other merchants in our rear, each before his own presents. In a moment or two, three loud shouts from the soldiers in front announced the Emperor's appearance ; another loud shout, equal to "long live the Emperor !" was given, when the Bashaw, Master of Ceremonies and his suite, among which was the brother of our Governor

of Swearah, came forth and said, "*Consul, advance and see the Sultan!*" We advanced accordingly, followed by our host of porters, some fifty yards, and entered a square of about two hundred yards before the palace, surrounded by high walls, which were lined with soldiers, and in front, mounted on a milk white charger, sat the Emperor, surrounded on three sides by his officers. At this sight, our thirty Jews cried out, "*Long live the Sultan!*" They were close behind us, and were waived aside while the Sultan advanced twenty paces in front. He was clothed in the *haick* and white turban; but wore no ornament or mark of rank by which he could have been distinguished from other Moorish gentlemen. He is somewhat above the middle height, rather dark complexioned, not stout or corpulent, and his whole countenance beamed with intelligence and goodness. We took off our hats and walked up until within a few feet of him. He saluted Mr. Willshire with a warm welcome, who thereupon presented me as the American captain, and also his son Leonard. The Emperor said, "You are welcome to our Capital;" he then added, "You are doubly welcome as my old friend and neighbor. Is that your son? God bless him! Rais Riley is also known to me for many years through your goodness — he is welcome." He then proceeded to make inquiries concerning Mr. Willshire's family; wished us all health; and for Mr. Willshire an abundance of children, with a series of other compliments untranslatable into English. Our conversation continued about a quarter of an hour, when it ended, and we were shown out of the southern gate to make room for the Jew merchants, next to be presented. His Majesty quickly despatched his interview with them. Hassan Yusef came first, then Amaram Elmalek, then Ben Adee Delaranta and his brother Judah, Mr. Abilba, Afledo, Zaguny, Damon, and several others; all of whom were dismissed from the audience in shorter time than us *Christians*.

When the Jew merchants came through the gate after seeing

the Sultan, many of them were so much excited as to tremble in every joint, near to falling, and one actually fainted away! Others of them asked me if I saw the Sultan, and how he looked, for they said they dare not look at him; and I was afterwards informed that he spoke to only two or three of them.

This terror at the presence of the Sultan among the native Jews arose no doubt from the fact that all, or nearly all, owed the government large sums of money for duties; and from the fact that being the subjects of a despotic government, in case the Sultan should be found in a bad humor, he might instantly order them to be bastinadoed, or even beheaded before him: for Jews are treated at all times with the greatest severity and ignominy by all Moorish officers. But as I had no such fear, I looked at him as much as pleased me.

However, all had passed off well; and our horses and mules having been brought around to us, we were invited to mount, ride through and examine these extensive gardens with the Master of Ceremonies, and a guard of honor. The Jew merchants, who had somewhat recovered from their excitement and fright, put on their slippers, (having been forced to appear barefooted before the Sultan,) and mounting their mules, by express permission, rode with us among the gardens. This immense enclosure, containing not less than 6000 acres, is divided into squares by walls as high and strong as the outward one; the squares are of various sizes, but all, except some at the south-east end, were richly planted with fruit trees and garden vegetables, flowering shrubs, and grape vines running over arches of trellis-work; one of these arches, formed of palm tree posts in four rows, and covered with cane bound together to a diameter of four inches, and crossed and tied in squares of about two feet in diameter, was entirely covered with grape vines; the foliage of which, though now in October, was wholly impervious to the sun's rays: this was about one mile in length, and fifty feet wide, and, being

graveled beneath, affords a most delightful walk, or ride; for there is room for six horsemen abreast.

After visiting an old castle, that used to be two miles south-east of the city before this garden was extended by the present Sultan, and two large ponds of water, in one of which is a pleasure boat for his Majesty's recreation, we then proceeded to view several compartments of the gardens, teeming with fruits and flowers, and cooled by shady groves of orange, citron, lemon, and other useful trees; we also visited several Imperial Pavilions, consisting of only one room, richly painted within and without; with terraces surrounding each, in the midst of which are fine streams of running water, rushing up at one corner and running all around the square, in a channel of about a foot square, and gurgling down to another corner. Mr. Willshire was invited to enter the pavilions, which we did. They consist of only one room, twenty feet wide, by thirty or forty feet long; the floors are covered with square, blue and white marble; the ceiling is arched, and richly painted. The pavilions contain no furniture; but when the Sultan stops in one, carpets and cushions are brought for him to sit and lean upon. The Jews were not permitted to enter these sacred places — built of stone and lime, and covered with green tiles. Here we walked about for an hour or two, inhaling the rich perfume of thousands of flowers, of various kinds and colors, by which this delightful spot is surrounded; enjoying the cooling shade, and regaling ourselves with grapes and pomegranates of the most delicious quality. Among the trees are pear, peach, apple, apricot, nectarine, quince, and many others of the temperate zones; the jessamine is here a tree or shrub twelve feet high. After our walk and repast, we took leave of the officers, mounted and rode into our own garden, amid the loud greeting of thousands of Moors and Jews; among which were women whooping, by rolling their tongues in a manner precisely similar to the whooping of American Indians, in their moments of joy.

On reaching our pavilion, we found a Jewish band of music, who struck up lively strains, accompanying their violins and guitars with their voices. Their guitar is shaped, at the bottom, like an oval bowl, flat upon the top, and has four strings. Their violins are long and narrow, with three strings, and is played upon with a bow; their music is by no means disagreeable, though rude. Here we were joined by all the Jew merchants and their friends, where tea, and liquors, wine and brandy, were furnished by Mr. Willshire, with cakes, fruits, nuts, &c. in profusion; a general congratulation followed upon their favorable reception; all drank freely, and manifested a gaiety quite enlivening. The minstrels kept up the music, which was aided by both Jews and Moors present, singing the choruses and clapping their hands in time to the tune. After all had shown their liberality, by throwing silver dollars and other coins upon the principal guitar, the Jews took their leave; and we also left, accompanied by Tesar Solimo, to his house, where our dinner was waiting. Before night, however, we learned that the Sultan had sent to our garden forty fat sheep, with a paper making distribution thereof; allotting for Mr. Willshire and his company eight, four each to two principal Jew merchants, and two to each of the others: these were intended as provisions for the servants.

The Sultan appears to be about forty years of age; is a noble looking man, and shows to great advantage on horseback. His name is *Muley Abdir Ahman*. He came to the throne on the death of *Muley Solyman*, the late Emperor, in 1822, who succeeded the father of the present Sultan by violence and force of arms. When on his death-bed, Muley Solyman called his sons (about 30 in number!) about him, and adverting to his approaching death, depicted, in glowing colors to them, the great weight and burden of responsibilities imposed upon a sovereign, his constant trouble, and harrassing cares, &c. &c. He then told them, that in order to make his children and his people all happy, he had selected to

succeed him, their cousin Muley Abdir Ahman, who himself was the son of an Emperor, and a wise, learned, moderate, and good man ; just and righteous, and the person to whom the throne of right belonged. He advised them, with his last breath, to submit to his choice ; and told them, if they did, they would escape a load of trouble, and would be cared for, protected and supported handsomely by the new sovereign, and live honorably with him as his brothers. He assured them that his will, in this particular, was approved by the Almighty !

Strange to say, they all took their father's advice ; made no attempt to secure the throne, and have since lived in honorable and peaceful brotherhood with their cousin, the present wise and good Emperor. He encourages the arts and sciences, manufactures, agriculture, and commerce ; he has made numerous aqueducts, thereby causing to be cultivated large districts of his empire, formerly deserts ; he also supplied various towns with good water ; and by these various means, he is gradually taming the fierceness, and softening the bigotry, of his people.

Every year one or more vessels are loaded with pilgrims for Alexandria, whence they go to Mecca, to worship at the shrine of the Prophet, and return wiser and better ; for, in so long a journey by sea and land, crossing deserts and wastes, they are brought into contact with many classes of men, and escape many dangers. The ports for shipping pilgrims are Mogadore, Mazagan, Rhabat, Laresch, Tangier, and Tetuan. Some Prince, or Bashaw, commonly takes up a vessel at Gibraltar, (through a Jew agent,) mostly Sardinians, of about 200 tons ; in this he puts about two hundred pilgrims, who furnish their own provisions, the ship only furnishing charcoal and water ; they are never troublesome, be the voyage long or short. Many poor men, however, get on board without paying or providing anything, or are sent by the charity of friends. They land at Alexandria, cross the desert to Suez, embark upon the Red Sea, sail to Jeddah, and proceed thence by

land to Mecca, their Holy City. If they arrive early enough in the year, they go through the prayers and ablutions enjoined by the Koran, and return as they best can—very frequently by land, and on foot; and ever after enjoy the title of “*El Hadge*”—the holy. Should they not get to Mecca by the time prescribed, they must wait there a year, or nearly that time, before they can make themselves worthy and holy men. This may serve to give the reader some idea of the force and extent of religious opinions operating to unite and control a whole empire of people.

Friday, Oct. 18. — This day was spent in writing letters and despatching couriers—literally, *runners on foot*—receiving congratulations, &c., and in preparing to visit the Prime Minister, whose good will and friendly offices near the Sultan are quite necessary, in order to obtain the desired favors; and he, being the only channel of communication with the Sultan, must be propitiated. We accordingly prepared two mule loads of trifles, similar to those given to the Sultan, among which were tea and sugar; these, however, were not packed up with the same ceremony—the quantity and quality constituted the value. These were to be taken, accompanied by Moorish guards, and Tesar Solimo; which latter was well known to the Minister, as Mr. Willshire's agent, who pays monthly to the Minister \$8000, for Mr. Willshire's custom duties, in order to pay the troops at the capital.

Soon after dark we set out on foot, and directly entered the Moorish quarter of the town; and threading our way among ruins, between gardens, wells, and small streams of running water, for about two miles, in a southwest direction, preceded by a lantern, when, entering a gate to our left and passing about two hundred yards between walls, twelve feet asunder, with gardens on each side, we came to a small open court before a gate, and halted. Our mules were there unloaded; and after a few minutes the Minister's friend arrived from without. He saluted

us as friends, for both Mr. Willshire and myself were known to him, having taken breakfast with him in Swearah about a year before. This gentleman ushered us into the passage where the goods were handed in and divided before him, and delivered to black slaves, male and female, who stood in waiting. We then followed him into a court, and thence up a flight of stairs. Master Leonard was along with us, and the black girls ran after him, crying out, "*let me see, let me see the Christian boy,*" and endeavored to feel his hands — wondering at us all, laughing merrily, and chatting away like magpies, seemingly as happy as possible, while each carried a lighted candle to light us along. Before a door-way, upon the first floor, covered with a crimson silk curtain, we stopped ; the friend drew aside the curtain, behind which were large folding doors, closed ; but opening a small, low, painted door, he entered, and bade us follow him ; to accomplish which, we were obliged to bend our bodies and lower our heads considerably. Having entered, we found ourselves in the presence of the Prime Minister, who was seated on a mattress on our right ; he took Mr. Willshire by the hand, without rising, and greeted him cordially ; he then took my hand, and that of Leonard ; welcomed us in his own name, and in behalf of the Emperor, who, he assured us, took a lively interest in all that concerned Mr. Willshire and myself, of whom he said he had long heard ; and many compliments succeeded. He then expressed a desire to know more of my history ; when Mr. Willshire gave him, at his leisure, a brief outline of my shipwreck and slavery upon the Great Desert, and of the manner in which he had been able to redeem me and send me to my country ; when, after a lapse of fifteen years, I made a voyage to Gibraltar, and there learned that he, Mr. Willshire, was still at Swearah. I came and paid him a visit of gratitude, and abode with him three months ; and that ever since that period, I had carried on a brisk trade between the United States of America and this

empire, now about nine years, with several vessels. The minister wanted to know what articles I brought, and what I carried. Mr. Willshire enumerated several articles ; among which, I brought the finest tea, and much specie, etc. He asked if America had not separated itself from England, and how long since ? Where New York lay ? I informed him of its latitude and longitude ; but this he did not exactly understand ; and I explained to him that New York was far to the west, across the ocean from England and this empire ; and that the sun rose and came to the meridian of New York about five hours after its rise, or coming to the meridian of that capital ; and that the distance was about 1000 leagues, or about 40 days sailing for a ship. He wished to know how long a voyage it was from my country to China, and if the seed or slips of the tea plant could not be procured from thence and transplanted to Morocco ? I found that, although he is considered the most learned man in the empire, yet his geographical knowledge was very limited indeed. He then again bid us welcome ; said he would aid Mr. Willshire and myself in any requests we had to make to the Sultan ; advised us to have them made in writing, which he would examine, and correct them if necessary, and present them to the Sultan himself.

All this time, tea was being made by his friend ; and the slaves continued to bring in and place our presents in an adjoining room. After a familiar conversation with Mr. Willshire, who speaks the Arabic well, and taking several cups of tea, we rose to take leave ; two chairs had been provided for us to sit upon, while Master Leonard was seated by the Minister ; and being a Christian, was an object of great curiosity, the more so that he speaks Arabic like a native. The Minister pressed him to tarry with him through the night, intending, no doubt, to show him to his ladies, and to those of the Sultan's harem. But Leonard being then but about twelve years of age, between childish apprehensions and bashfulness, declined the offer ; though, being

very intelligent and observing, would doubtless have obtained interesting and important information by remaining. After an audience of the most interesting and familiar kind, of about two hours, we took our leave, and threaded our way back to our quarters.

The present Prime Minister, and only minister of the Sultan Abder Ahman, is named *Sidi Mohammed Ben Idris*, from one of the oldest and most respectable Moorish families, some of whom have been emperors of Morocco. He is about 5 feet 10 inches high, fair complexion, with an agreeable and an intelligent countenance; he is about forty years of age, easy and affable in his manners, with great talents for business, in which he manifests the most untiring industry. He, in fact, manages the whole business of this vast and important empire; the Sultan having no other adviser, his position is, consequently, no sinecure.

Before 8 o'clock in the morning of every day, he visits the Emperor; transacts the business required; attends the Sultan to church at times, and particularly from one till half past two o'clock P. M. on every Friday, that being the Mohammedan sabbath; he then goes home to dinner for about two hours; returns to the Sultan, and remains with him till near sunset every day. In the evening he gives audience to the bashaws and governors of towns and provinces; does the necessary business with them, and such private persons as desire his aid; and writes his letters and despatches at night. Besides this, the Minister generally accompanies the Sultan when out hunting or riding; he seems to enjoy his sovereign's entire confidence.

Ben Idris was Minister (about eight years ago,) for some years, but was dismissed to private life, for another, who died about four years since, when the present Minister was recalled. He is now regarded as the Emperor's only confidential friend and adviser; and among this people, the title of *friend* carries with it a signification of perfect intimacy and confidence, even sharing fortunes in life and death.

This Prime Minister, like all Moors, is simple in his dress ; his dwelling is a plain house at Morocco ; the rooms are without furniture, except carpets and cushions, and one *low post bedstead* ; without curtains, in our audience chamber. He is, however, building a good house at Morocco, surrounded by a beautiful garden, which we visited ; he has another good house in Fez, the other capital of this empire, from whence the Sultan and his court had come within a few months.

Saturday, October 19.—Having determined to ride through and see the city of Morocco, we went to our garden at 7 o'clock in the morning, and mounting, passed through the Jews' quarter, where all was silent, scarcely a soul in the street, it being the Jewish sabbath. At the gate we were joined by the governor of the *Millah*, mounted on a beautiful horse, with two foot soldiers ; these, with our two mounted Moors, formed an escort of five for our protection, and to keep in awe and proper subordination the mischievous masses of boys and others whom we might encounter ; two or three more footmen also volunteered and followed along with stout sticks, in order to enforce proper respect to the great merchants !

We directly began threading our way along tortuous passages, between walls and gardens, and open spaces of ruins, of several acres, and among small gardens (in which the rich Moors have splendid houses), for about two miles, and then entered the *Sock*. This is a crooked and narrow market street thronged with people, with meats, (mostly mutton) and many sorts of fruits and vegetables, exposed for sale in small shops, only two or three yards square within, and also along the sides of the wall. All were intent upon their business of buying and selling. Some, however, were cooking small bits of meat upon iron skewers laid across earthen pots or furnaces, filled with burning charcoal ; others, with bread in hand, were regaling themselves with their viands in the street, eating their bits of meat hot from the skewers. This

dish is called *cubbub*. Its smell, when cooking, is very grateful, and its taste (for I have eaten of it) is more pleasant than mutton chop or beefsteak, to my palate. Hundreds of them were regaling themselves with rolls of spongy cakes, hot from the pans in which they were fried, dipping each piece into a dish of honey. This cake is very white and delicious; they call it *sphinge*. It is really an excellent and nourishing food, of which I am exceedingly fond. As we rode along, every one stopped his business or pleasure to gaze at us and our cavalcade. Master Leonard, however, mounted on a handsome mule, riding an European saddle, attracted the most marked attention; all the boys, and many men running after and along side, and twisting through among the beasts, would get forward to have another look at the Christians' faces — rare sights, of which many had heard and but few before seen — while loaded camels, horses, mules and donkeys were constantly passing and jostling us on every side, and every where were vociferated cries of "*baluk, baluk*" — take care, take care. And though we rode on at a round pace through the dense crowd, yet the activity of these people was such, that no one, to our knowledge, was injured; but it required the vigilance of all our guards to keep off the crowd of boys intent on seeing us, some throwing fruit, and sometimes stones, against us. Our Moors, however, would frequently face about and charge among the young rogues at full speed. Thus we rode on, twisting and turning in this crooked street, covered over with scaffolds, bearing branches of palm and other trees, and, in some parts, cloth, for a mile in length, to ward off the sun's rays in hot weather. The houses are mostly of one and two stories, built of brick or tapia work, with shops all the way, and innumerable little streets or alleys branching off in all directions from the main avenue. In this way we continued riding for two or three miles, passing through many gates, entering several *fondaes*, (market squares) built around with good two story dwellings, with galleries sup-

ported by pillars, and arches of solid mason work. Each of the *fondaes* is appropriated for the sale of some particular article or commodity ; as gums, oils, almonds, skins, wool, leather, &c., respectively. On each side of this thoroughfare of commerce, we saw long lanes, built with houses of one story, leading, they say, to gentlemen's gardens and houses ; these lanes are mostly inhabited by the poor. In the *fondaes* were many imports from abroad offered for sale ; such as raw cotton and silk, many sorts of cotton, silk and woolen cloths, tea, sugar, earthen, china, and glassware, &c., &c. We rode, as we supposed, about three miles among this crowd and along these markets, followed by an immense concourse of men and boys, who became quite troublesome, many of them spitting and throwing stones at us, notwithstanding the exertions of our guards to keep them at a distance. This incivility was the result of educational prejudice among them ; they having been taught from infancy to despise Christians and all other people except Moslems ; as all others, according to their belief, are doomed to eternal punishment.

Being pressed by the crowd so that we could not turn into another part of the town, we were forced to ride out at the double and massive gate "*Bel El Khems*" — or, Thursday gate — and were followed by a great mass of the population, whose impetuous curiosity neither our guards nor the gate keepers could restrain ; they came rushing out to a large open space used as the Thursday market for horses, mules and camels, and would see "*El Sara*" — the Christians ; so, being upon an open plain where our horse guards could act, we wheeled about and showed them our faces awhile, and our guards rode among the most troublesome and riotous at full speed, scattering them in every direction. When the crowd seemed satisfied with gazing, we rode around three miles outside of the walls to the southward, and entered the city by another gate, double, strong and well built, the gate *Bel Du-quella*.

A MOORISH CITIZEN, IN EVERY DAY COSTUME.

11-11-13

10

1. The first group of people who are likely to be affected by the proposed changes are those who are currently employed in the public sector. This group includes a wide range of individuals, from those who are employed in the public sector to those who are employed in the private sector. The proposed changes are likely to have a significant impact on the public sector, as it is the largest employer in the economy. The public sector is likely to be affected in a number of ways, including a reduction in the number of employees, a reduction in the number of hours worked, and a reduction in the number of jobs available. The public sector is also likely to be affected in a number of other ways, including a reduction in the number of jobs available, a reduction in the number of hours worked, and a reduction in the number of jobs available.

James H. Brown

1. What is the purpose of the document?
 2. What are the main findings of the study?
 3. What are the implications of the findings?
 4. What are the limitations of the study?
 5. What are the conclusions of the study?

11. 12. 13.

1. The first is the fact that the

nothing in the way of

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1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific information required.

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1. The first step is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

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Characteristics of the "New" Law

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10. The above information is true, correct, and accurate to the best of my knowledge.

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3111 14th St. N. W. D. C.

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1. The first of these is the fact that the

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

2. In the event of a change of ownership, the company shall be bound to provide the new owner with a copy of this agreement.

Long. 20.000000

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

North Carolina - 1900

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Dr. J. H. and Helen M.

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18. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the above-mentioned affidavits as having been in the possession of the same at the time of the same being seized:

1018-

A SCOTISH CITIZEN, IN FULL OF AGE

The circumstances of the morning gave rise to some very melancholy reflections in relation to religious intolerance, which, as I had observed, was not confined to Musselman ; for among *Christians* I have heard bitter and fierce denunciations among different denominations, unscrupulously consigning the followers of all creeds but their own to the regions of endless damnation ; and hence I could not but pity the unlettered Mahommedans for insulting us because we were followers of a different creed, when the enlightened Christians do the same thing (not with *stones*, perhaps,) towards those of a different denomination.

On again entering the city we turned to the left, and passing another gate we found ourselves among numerous shops of workers in silk ornaments for horses, such as silk dyers, and manufacturers of bridle reins and saddles ; here were long lines of shops filled with artisans, all busy at work among silks, and leather, and wood. Entering another gate, a long street was presented, of shops filled with all sorts of silken, woolen, and linen fabrics, the manufactures of this country, tastefully displayed ; and the masters, or owners, sitting cross-legged and bare-footed on his carpet or mat in the middle, ready to reach any article in his shop to his customers, of whom there appeared to be a goodly number, and a brisk trade going on. Entering another interior gate, we were immediately among immense numbers of shops of shoe and boot makers, with such quantities of those articles exposed for sale as surprised us all ; very many of them were wrought with gold and silver thread. These shops seemed to extend a mile in length. Next, a gate opened into a street of carpenters, with the workmen in view in front making doors, windows, yokes for oxen, saddle-trees, plows, and various other branches of wood work. Another gate opened upon a street of blacksmiths, busy as bees, and hammering away, making horse-shoes, and shoes for mules and donkeys, and putting them on ; also, making door-hinges, nails, bolts, locks, plow irons, &c., &c. Another depart-

ment contained gunsmiths, all hard at work upon long guns, pistols, sabres, knives and gun-locks ; while beyond, another gate were workers in brass and silver ornaments for gun-stocks, sabres, &c., &c.

After riding through this quarter of Morocco, we were compelled from ocular demonstration to believe that the Moors still retain a knowledge of many of the useful arts and manufactures ; and that Moors, and not Jews, are the artizans of this country : for we saw multitudes of workers in brass, silver, tin, iron, wood, leather, silks, wool, cotton, linen, and woolen *haick* and carpet weavers ; also embroidery of no mean quality. And although strangers and Christians ! the workmen stopped but a moment to look at us, politely showed us all we desired to see, bid us welcome, and went on with their labor.

Being now exceedingly fatigued, we returned by the way of the Great Tower and Mosque, *Koutoubiah*. Our peregrinations and general respectful treatment impressed us with feelings of respect for the inhabitants of this old capital ; for they are, as we discovered, industrious to a proverb, and in general are not religious bigots. Mr. Washington, a lieutenant in the British Navy, visited Morocco in 1832, with Mr. Hay, the British Consul General, and he believes that the Jews are the general artizans of this city. That gentleman gives us much valuable information concerning Morocco, but is certainly mistaken in this particular ; the Moors are the general artizans : a few among the Jews, however, work in the metals, but to a small extent compared with the Moors. When Morocco was besieged during the reign of Mulley Eitzed, or Yatzed, 40,000 Moorish artizans were selected to guard the city, over and above the militia ; and to them rations were given and arms furnished by the government. And from passing through the city it would seem that nearly one-half of the population are artizans ; and although the articles fabricated from wood and the metals are rough, yet they are

serviceable ; while many of the manufactures of silks and carpets will vie in richness of color and beauty of texture with those of the most civilized countries of Europe.

On reaching the *Suzebah*, or fortress quarter of the city, at its southern and western angle, which is walled in separately by solid walls 30 or 40 feet high, of solid masonry, and is about half a mile square, we entered that division and rode through every part of it. It is built of better materials, and more solid and ornamented masonry. We came to a massive and elegant building, with four large gates or entrances, Moorish painted horse-shoe arches, with a beautiful frieze of cut stone, and covered with green tiles. This is the building which for more than a *thousand years*, has served for the burial place of the emperors of Morocco and of the illustrious dead of that empire. Like the Pantheon, it is a work of art considered particularly holy, and into which no infidel or unbeliever can enter. Its gates appear to be of the most beautiful and durable kind of wood, and of handsomely carved workmanship. They are said to have once been the gates to the city of Seville, in Spain, which city was taken by the renowned warrior, the Sultan Almanzor, in the twelfth century, who sent those gates in triumph to this capital, where they were duly consecrated as the doors of this Mausoleum. How far this tradition is correct, I cannot determine ; but in this dry climate, works of wood might last for centuries. After going through this quarter, we passed a gate and found ourselves within a square of about 300 yards, surrounded by high walls ; one side of this square is occupied by two story buildings standing upon pillars and arches ; the rooms above serve as barracks for the soldiers, while the square below is their parade ground, and in this long covered gallery or arcade, were now about 500 troops sheltered from the sun's rays. In the square was a fine reservoir of water. The soldiers' arms looked bright and in good order. Here we were

met by the Master of the Imperial Horse, who being known to Mr. Willshire, called to us, and after many compliments, told him that he might soon expect a present from the emperor.

Having satisfied our curiosity in this quarter, we rode out at another gate and found ourselves in front of the imperial gardens; we then returned to our own garden, and thence to our quarters to a Sabbath dinner of roasted eggs, shanahon, fruits, &c., all good enough for a sultan. This morning's ride had continued nearly five hours, and yet we had visited only a small portion of the city.

After resting ourselves till 3 o'clock, we again mounted, went out at a gate and traveled for two hours along the north-eastern angle of the city wall towards the north-west. On our right is an extended plain, covered with thousands of stately date trees, whose umbrella-like tops afford a most grateful shade; and every one was crowned with rich clusters of yellow fruit, now nearly ripe, giving a rich and glowing appearance to the picture before us; while open aqueducts, bearing along from the Atlas fine streams of running water, whose margins in the open plain are covered with tall waving cane, some grass and bushes; and scattered here and there were flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of cows intermingled with asses, and beyond them scores of great camels, all feeding upon the scanty, coarse and prickly herbage, which a long drouth had spared yet green upon this arid plain.

Near by, on our right, is the deep bed of a river, now dry, with date trees growing along its banks near the very bottom, the tops of which came up even with the level of the plain. Over this deep channel were several solid stone bridges, well built, standing upon good stone arches; these bridges join the main routes to the provinces, to the N. and N. W., with the gates of *Etel* and of *Rhems*. During this ride we passed an enclosed powder manufactory, within walls of an oblong square, containing several

buildings, all without the city. Here also were a great number of huts where they make saltpetre ; and beyond the river's banks are large manufactories of coarse earthen-ware ; there also is the place of butchers, where are, every day, slaughtered in the open air some hundreds — the Moors say *thousands* — of sheep, with a few neat cattle, for the city consumption. On our route were a great many Moors, of all ages, and many country people, going to and from the city ; but no annoyance nor insult was offered us, yet all seemed curious to see and examine such singularly dressed people ; and Master Leonard, as usual, attracted particular interest and attention on account of his youthfulness, his white skin, and his European dress. The city wall upon our left, built of *Tapia* work, was about twenty feet high, and supported by towers at every hundred yards. These towers are about thirty feet square, abutting on the main wall, with terraced tops, and loop-holes in their battlements above for musketry ; and the larger towers, at and over the gates, are furnished with port-holes — some of them mounted with cannon, for defence. The walls form many angles, and this makes their circuit much greater.

After riding nearly two hours, we entered the city at the *Beb el Rhems* ; and, turning to our left, rode on for half an hour among ruined houses and desolate hills, with many fine gardens, however, on our left, within which are some of the fine dwellings of the rich Moors. We rode out at the *Beb el Etel*, and returned, after sunset, at the same gate at which we left the city, and went to our garden much fatigued, yet highly gratified and edified by our two, long excursions.

A MOOR OF SURE,
AGENT FOR CAPT. RILEY.

CHAPTER XIV.

VISIT TO MOROCCO — CONTINUED.

Visit to the Imperial Granaries — Flouring Mills — Emperor's Gardens — His present to Mr. Willshire — Sidi Omri — Arrival of the Governor of Mogadore — Dining out — Excursion to the Mountains — Visit to the Palace of the Bashaw of Siedmoh.

SUNDAY, Oct. 20. — After morning exercises, we walked awhile among the trees of our garden, inhaling the pleasant air, and enjoying the cooling shade, and the freshness of limpid streams, conveyed, by channels, around every square. While thus occupied, our attention was attracted by seeing many loaded camels standing above a wall, *fifty feet high*, that bounded our garden to the south-west, being part of the town called *Suzebah*. On inquiry, we learned that five hundred camels had come in, to-day, from the province of *Duquella*, loaded with wheat, comprising a part of the Sultan's *tenth* of the last year's crop in that district; and that beyond that wall were the Imperial granaries, or store-houses for corn. Sending for an officer, he invited us to walk to and examine these granaries, offering his company as our escort. Accordingly, Mr. Willshire, myself and Leonard, walked around some three hundred yards, passing two gates, and found ourselves in the great square fronting the large entrance to the store-houses, and the Imperial stables. On our left was an immense number of meek-looking camels, lying down upon their bellies, with their long legs folded under them, and their long, slender necks, like swans, stretched out to their full length, and their heads lying flat upon the ground: this was their easiest position for resting, after their long and fatiguing march, with

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such heavy burdens ; for the load of each camel is five hundred pounds, besides a heavy pack-saddle. We were ushered into a court, surrounded by these warehouses, all fifty feet high at the least, and, passing out at its north-west angle into another square, we found there an inclined plane of terrace-work, ascending gradually to the flat tops of these store-houses ; having ascended this plane and arrived at the top, we there saw a large number of camels kneeling down, while their load was being discharged. The wheat, which was the best kind of hard flint wheat, was poured out of the sacks upon the clean terrace, where a number of workmen were employed in measuring it, and then turned the whole into the granaries, through the roof. The openings for receiving the grain were circular, and about two feet in diameter, of mason work, and raised about two feet above the flat terrace, and lined with a cylinder of pottery, made for the purpose, and built in with the terrace. We saw no less than eighty of these pipes, or openings, for receiving the grain on this terrace, which also served the purpose of ventilation.

We learned on inquiry of officers seated on mats on the terrace, who were there for keeping the account of the grain received, that by this simple process the grain is easily distributed into various rooms below, which thus are always well ventilated, and the grain kept sound and sweet ; there are also contrivances, equally simple and effective, for taking from each room whatsoever may be wanted ; these pipes are covered only when rain falls, which, here, is a very rare occurrence. On looking into those pipes we found that most of the stores in these immense magazines were already filled with wheat, barley, or Indian corn in the ear ; we likewise ascertained that there are other rows of store houses for grain in the *Suzebah*, of still greater dimensions than these. In this connection the question naturally arises, how is the grain for the supply of bread for this capital converted into flour ? for the consumption is immense, taking into account the population of

Moors, Jews, the Imperial court, and the troops kept constantly at and about Morocco. Their grain is floured chiefly by horse-mills, within the city, of the most simple construction; each mill and its gearing, with the old horse, occupy but one room; there is but one pair of stones, or burrs, made from the rocks of the country. The wheat is purchased by the head of each family as they want it; and as it has been threshed upon the ground by horses, in the open field, is full of gravel, lumps of dirt, and other impurities; the chaff is blown away by the wind, or a rough corn fan. The wheat is carried home by the purchaser, and the women set to work to pick it out, and thus get out all the gravel, etc. They then moisten the wheat with water to soften the hull, let it lie twenty-four hours, and then send it to the mill, where it is ground and returned, without bolting or sifting; and then the women and servants are set to work to sift it over by the common hand sieve, which requires much labor. The Moors only are millers; no Jew is permitted to keep a mill. The picking and assorting of wheat, sifting out the flour and making the bread, occupies the women about half their time, and keeps them, as they say, out of idleness and mischief. Their other household duties, being conducted with a few and simple cooking utensils, are light; they have no knives nor forks, very little furniture, and only a few bowls which they eat from with their fingers. It has been a matter of astonishment to me that those mills could grind even sufficient to supply the wants of so great a population. The custom of grinding without bolting or sifting the flour by the millers, is yet common in more civilized countries; it is followed in *Basse Bretagne*, and other parts of France. The miller of this capital and country is paid by his customers, in money, for his services, instead of by toll, or taking a portion of the corn, as in Christendom; and as streams of water upon which to erect mills are not to be found, and as there is little or no wind on these elevated plains of Morocco to turn wind-mills, and yet hav-

ing not a single steam mill, they continue, as their ancestors did before them, to obtain all necessary sustenance in the cheapest and simplest manner possible.

Monday, October 21st.—This morning we rode out and visited the Imperial gardens, that lie about north from our quarters, and two miles from the city walls. As the Sultan's merchants, we entered freely. These immense gardens and orchards extend about two miles from N. W. to S. E., and half a mile broad from an opposite direction; they are strongly walled in, like another city, with tapia work, fifteen or twenty feet high, and subdivided by three more walls, into four divisions, between each of which there are pavilions, gates, and gate keepers. The first, from the south, was only partially planted with fruit trees, and but recently enclosed. Many laborers were at work on it, plowing for wheat, making gravel walks, channels, etc., and preparing for its complete irrigation. The second, containing probably thirty acres, was fully covered with fruit trees; consisting of olive, date, pear, apple, cherry, peach, apricot, quince, pomegranate, mulberry, walnut, and abundance of others of temperate climates; also, flowering shrubs, vines, etc. The third in the line is still larger, with citron, orange, lemon, sweet lemon, and many other fruit trees, bending under loads of green and golden fruits; and the gravel walks, along all their course, shaded with their thick foliage, were lined with the trees of jessamine, now covered with blossoms; also numerous other flowering trees and shrubs, filling the air with the richest and varied perfumes; while but a gentle breath of wind stirred this garden of delights.

Here we dismounted, and entered a richly painted pavilion, used by the Sultan as a retreat on his excursions here, and kept by an old deaf domestic, who knew Mr. Willshire, and therefore invited us into this sacred edifice. Here, with Imperial gusto, we regaled ourselves with the most delicious pomegranates, inhaled the delightful fragrance that floated around us, refreshed

ourselves with the fruits of many kinds, urged upon us by the good old keeper, who prided himself in having been the chief gardener here for more than forty years, and talked continually in praise of the Sultan; and, Mahomedan though he was, he was highly delighted to receive a bottle of wine *for his old wife!* He said it would do her *heart* good.

After our repast we walked over this garden, which seemed really an earthly paradise! It is, on all sides, refreshed by large streams of pure water, which course along in broad streams in stone channels around each pavilion; and Master Leonard, who had been brought up thus far among the sand hills of Mogadore, and never having seen or formed any correct idea of growing fruit, was particularly delighted at seeing himself surrounded with trees loaded with the most delicious fruit.

After spending an hour here, we took leave of the grateful old gardener, who said that he had been directed by the Sultan to pay us particular attention — mounted and rode into the most northerly enclosure. This is very large; much of it, however, remains in fields where wheat is cultivated by irrigation, and is not planted with trees. While busied in our examination of this garden, two of our Moorish servants left at the gate of our garden, came galloping up to us upon a mule, crying out at the stretch of their lungs, "*God bless the Sultan and Tesar Willshire;*" and before they had time to explain what all this outcry meant, up came the Governor of the *Millah*, or Jews-town, with his horse in a foam, bawling out all at once something unintelligible. Having at length obtained silence, the Governor of the *Millah* informed Mr. Willshire that the Emperor had sent him a beautiful horse, as a present; and that the high officers of cavalry were waiting for him at Tesar Solimo's house, in order to deliver the animal; so we all scampered away for the city, amid the loud blessings of the Moors, who attach a great value to presents from the Sultan, and believe that such gifts carry with them the blessings of Heaven.

On our entrance to the court of Tesar Solimo, we saw therein a very fine young horse, and we were there greeted by the whooping of women, and the loud shouts of a multitude of Jews, who had collected for the purpose of this occasion, all expecting some small gift. Here we found the Sultan's principal master of cavalry, a fine looking light colored Moor, and the second master also, nearly as dark as a negro, but a tall, well dressed and respectable looking man, with two or three grooms from the Sultan's stables. The principal officer saluted Mr. Willshire in the name of his sovereign, and introduced his junior officer to his particular notice. After a full examination, we found the horse, a dark iron grey stallion; with black legs and feet; a star in his forehead; long, slender bodied; about fifteen hands high; fine, slender, well formed legs; and altogether exceedingly beautiful in form, showing pure blood and much action. The chief officer was highly pleased because I pronounced him a very fine animal; and informed us that he was sired by the Sultan's most favorite horse *Im Jemma* — star of the morning — imported from Medina, and out of his favorite mare *La Debah* — the spotted hyena — and sent as a particular mark of favor to an old friend; that the horse had been bred under his own care, and that he would prove "*an invaluable jewel!*" This description and praise from so great a man, was, of course, worth something more than ordinary, and Mr. Willshire, according to old custom, gave to the General dollars, several cannisters of tea and loaves of sugar; also, a handsome present to the second in command, and something to the Governors; whereupon, they took their leave, after giving this valuable animal in charge to *Muley Seid*, Mr. Willshire's princely guard, with new hair ropes for picketing him out, from the Imperial stables.

By this whole proceeding, I learned, with due admiration, the economy of this government, which gives but small pay even to the highest officers; but grants them opportunities of getting

much from others. Thus, in this instance, the Emperor had the credit of presenting a fine horse to a friend and a merchant, sent grand officers along to deliver him in state, well knowing that those cherished officers were sure of receiving from the grantee, a much larger amount than the same animal would have sold for in the market, had he been given to them by the Sultan, because *that is customary*. This is the system allowed throughout this Empire ; so that all men enjoying office, manage to get well paid by a similar process of giving and receiving presents. Yet, in this instance, it was a noble and a valuable present ; the more so, as Mr. Willshire was furnished with an Imperial license by which he may send this horse out of the country at any future time, should he think proper.

This business being thus despatched to the entire satisfaction of all parties interested, and it being about noon, Mr. Willshire went to see the Prime Minister, to thank him for the present, and to lay before him a letter to the Sultan, which had been dictated to and written by a *talb*, or learned man, yesterday, respecting the commerce in which he is engaged. He took Leonard with him, while I am noting these transactions.

Tuesday, Oct. 22. — Early this morning we were visited by a Moor named *Sidi Omri*. This man has traveled much ; has visited Mecca, and many islands and ports in the Red Sea, and in the Mediterranean. He began to amuse our company before and during breakfast, by singing snatches of Arabic songs in praise of the Sultan, &c., and by telling funny stories, and acting the buffoon in several characters ; his songs, sung in good measure, were quite melodious. After playing his pranks for an hour or two, he took leave, saying that he loved Christians, but hated Jews, having received a fifteen yard piece of white muslin for a turban, by his buffoonery ! This man lives, they say, by his wits in that way ; is much respected, is quite old — not less than 70 or 80 years — but quite active, gay, and jocular. He spends

some evenings at the Palace, and amuses the Sultan and his Minister, and court favorites by his metamorphoses, tricks, songs, and monkey capers in all sorts of characters.

This afternoon we rode out among some private gardens, southward of those we saw yesterday. Muley Seid rode upon the presented colt, which shows great mettle and action, though scarcely bridlewise as yet. Mr. Willshire visited the Jew merchants, who all wished to ask the Sultan for some favors, yet it seems that they cannot agree among themselves as to what they shall ask that is most likely to succeed, each one feeling inclined to ask for what may promote his own particular interests.

Wednesday, Oct. 23. — Mr. Willshire learned that the Governor of Swearah is expected to-morrow morning, and we determined to ride out and meet him, in order to raise his spirits, that have been upon the route much depressed on account of his having learned that some of his enemies — and who in office has none? — are intriguing against him with the Sultan; and that some of the merchants at Swearah are among them. Mr. Willshire had obtained this news through a rare channel; and, also, that some among the merchants wished not to show the Governor any respect; hoping that this course would be approved of at court, in case the Governor should be removed, which many thought probable from the floating rumors against that functionary. Whatever way matters might turn, we Christians had nothing to fear or hope from a change, and accordingly determined to manifest our feelings and show our respect for, and do honor to, that good officer. He had been ordered up to the capital, and ought to have started about the same time as the merchants did, but was detained, to our knowledge, to superintend the packing and depatching, before him, the goods taken for duties at the custom house for the last three or four years. The duties on most articles is ten per cent., taken in kind, and amounted of course to a great number of packages; the most bulky and least valuable

articles of which, were glass and earthen-ware ; and they took up much time in packing. The Governor's enemies took advantage of this delay in order to intrigue him out of office, to make room for another, and for the various offices within his gift.

Thursday, Oct. 24. — We started to our garden at an early hour, where we found our horses ready saddled. Our movement was no sooner known, than most of the Jew merchants hastened, and soon after were also on the road, as if fearing consequences to themselves in case the Governor should retain his office. We rode out at the gate at which we first entered the city, and took the route for Swearah. Our company consisted of Mr. Willshire, his son Leonard, and myself, with six Moorish soldiers well mounted, armed and equipped, for our guard — Muley Seid, likewise, upon the colt lately presented ; and we rode on rapidly towards the palm trees at which we halted on the morning before our arrival at Morocco. Within a mile from the gate we met a large *caffilla* of camels, loaded with casks, boxes, barrels, and tierces : there were 40 or 50 camels with bulky loads, their drivers on asses accompanying, forming a train about half a mile in extent. Proceeding a mile further, we met a second *caffilla*, of about 60 camels, loaded as the former one ; and another mile still further, we met still another *caffilla* of 80 camels, loaded as those before : these camels bore the remainder of the goods taken at the custom house, three hundred loads having been sent forward before the merchants sat out.

Pushing on rapidly, at the distance of a mile or more further from the last *caffilla*, and near the palm trees, we espied the Governor's green banner, borne aloft by a horseman, amid a cloud of dust raised by a numerous troop of cavalry, as a guard to the whole. In front came the Governor, mounted on a fine charger presented to him by the Sultan three years ago ; then came the troops, followed by a long train of loaded mules, bearing specie, in Spanish doubloons and dollars, also the proceeds of import

and export duties, and with packages of more valuable merchandise.

On our approach, our guards rode up at full speed, and fired off their pieces, and at the same time saluted the Governor with loud shouts of welcome. The Governor and his suite halted ; his face lighted up with hope ; he shook Mr. Willshire and myself most cordially by the hand. He was evidently much moved in his feelings and pleased at meeting the Consul ; after mutual salutations, friendly inquiries, and exchange of good wishes, we rode aside, and he proceeded as before. Soon after, many of the Jew merchants came galloping on, as fierce as lions, to demonstrate their regard ; each striving to be the foremost. The Governor treated them all with civility, though, by gestures, showing much impatience at this detention ; and his guards clearing away the throng of Jews from the city, he proceeded. We shook hands with several among the companies ; among others with the captain of the port, who informed me that my vessel was safe and well ballasted with cargo. Leaving them to proceed, we loitered aside and alighted near the walls of an old castle in ruins, and took refreshment.

While seated here, I called to mind the description of Jacob of old, when returning from Mesopotamia with the wealth and the goods of Laban, his father-in-law. Being afraid to meet his brother Esau, whom he had previously defrauded of his birthright, and with the connivance of his mother obtained his father's blessing ; and learning that Esau was coming to meet him with a large company, he divided his substance into *three* bands, and *sent one before the other*, in hopes, by gifts and proper submission, to appease his brother's wrath, which he believed still burned hot against him. And I feel in hopes that the Emperor, like the generous brother Esau, will say to our desponding friend, the Governor — "Keep what thou hast, my brother ; I have enough." This occurred to me no doubt from the fact, that the Governor had sent

forward three bands, or caffillas, before him, as if to propitiate the Imperial favor; knowing that he had been slandered by his enemies before his sovereign.

After our refreshment we rode across the plain, south about two miles, and came to the ruined walls of an old town; near its southeast side is a large tank, or open reservoir of water, the walls of which are built of solid mason work, and are about two hundred yards square, superficially; it is well filled, and kept full by a stream brought from the Atlas, fifteen or twenty miles distant. The sheet of water is said to be from ten to twenty feet deep, and is called "*cheriz el Buggela*," — the cow's tank. It serves as a bathing place for the Moors of the city and country around, and a little stream from it affords drink for their cattle; the overplus is said to be conveyed under ground to water some gardens northwest of the city.

After this excursion, a very pleasant one, we returned to the city, and went to a dinner of ceremony at the house of the Jew agent of Mr. Robertson, (an agent of Messrs. James Renshaw & Co., of London,) at Swearah. Mr. Robertson was prevented from coming to the capital by illness, and Mr. Willshire did for him the *needful*, near the Emperor. There was a large company in a small room. The dinner was designed to be laid out in English, or European style; it was served upon a high table, with chairs borrowed from our host to sit upon, and there were knives and forks, and spoons to eat with, instead of the usual implements of the Moors, *the fingers*.

The dinner was abundant, consisting of many courses, served up one at a time. This despatched, all hands must then wait until the dishes were washed. The meats were beef and mutton, roasted and stewed, a turkey, and a pair of fine capons; all cooked in olive oil, and in too rich and greasy a manner to suit my taste, but much relished by the company, who ate heartily, drank brandy and wine plentifully, and made themselves won-

drous merry on this great occasion ! I retired early to rest, and to reflect on this day's occurrences, and the national peculiarities of that singular race, so widely scattered, the Jews.

The Governor, or *Kaid*, of Swearah, of whom frequent mention is made, is a middle aged man, and also of the middle size ; light complexion, shrewd, learned, of a very respectable family, of easy manners ; he is altogether a gentleman of talents, a good officer, amiable, yet firm and commanding. He is the civil governor of Swearah, and has command of the military force of that city, of its police, and its numerous batteries and defences ; he also commands the islands making the bay. These islands are used as the Imperial State Prisons for governors and bashaws, who either revolted or incurred the Sultan's displeasure in some other way, and who are kept there in irons, and strictly guarded until the anger of the Sultan is appeased or they are proved innocent. In such cases, State prisoners are taken out of irons, and sometimes made bashaws or governors of provinces, while others are summarily executed, or sometimes *maimed*. The Governor is also head officer of the custom house, and attends personally to the dutying of all imports, and the weighing of all articles exported from that port, and to the most minute duties in detail, such as passing off provisions for ships and passengers, etc., and is clothed with high powers, settling all disputes and controversies, as judge, and is considered just and impartial and indefatigable in business. His name is *Sidi Abel Zimerany*, and has been governor about seven years, during which time he has given very general satisfaction. His long detention in packing up duties, and late arrival at Morocco, had like to have cost him his office, and was the cause of our detention there some two or three weeks. We were gratified to learn, subsequently, that the Sultan sent out troops to meet and welcome Sidi Abel when near the city, and afterwards received him kindly ; gave him a fine horse, and continued him in office.

Friday, October 25.—This morning being fine, and Mr. Willshire engaged, I took Master Leonard, and *Muley Seid* as our guard, and rode out of the city. We shaped our course across the plain due S. S. E., directly towards the nearest portions of the Atlas mountains. We rode on rapidly, following a small path for about ten miles over the level surface, partly covered with small round stones; there was no cultivation, and but few shrubs scattered here and there. In that distance we passed over four underground aqueducts, leading from the Atlas towards Morocco; we also passed a string of *Schistan* hills, about 500 feet high, that border the plain on the north, about fifteen miles from Morocco, along the southern foot of which runs the river *Tensift*. I shall in another place describe these long conduits of water more particularly.

As we neared the mountain range it seemed to rise in grandeur; the effect of the sun's rays reflected from such masses of snow and ice was truly grand, and *literally dazzling*! These mountain summits are not pointed like the sugar-loaf tops of volcanic formation, but show a bold, rounded outline, like headlands on or near a mountainous sea coast, yet no abrupt, precipitous breaks, like cliffs, are seen; the valleys along its northwestern side seem to be gently sweeping, rounded vales, often susceptible of, and rife with cultivation, below the region of the snow. We had previously ascertained that we could not ascend the mountain without asking leave of the Sultan; and, though sure of its being granted if asked, yet Mr. Willshire did not like to ask any favor out of his line as a merchant, and was anxious to finish our business and return as soon as possible.

For these reasons, I took this occasion to approach its base, and take a good survey through my telescope. On nearing the base, the earth becomes more fertile, and less burned up by heat; buckthorn, and many other hardy bushes and plants, almost covered the surface; and in spots, I saw some weeds and grass, and

tall canes, and many small channels, now dry, made by torrents that have rolled along from the mountain's foot ; in these beds all sorts of pebbles are abundant, while the soil is more compact and not so sandy as lower down. Here we found, although only ten or twelve miles from the city, that we were about fifty feet higher, and that the plain, though it looks like a perfect level, yet it gradually declines from the foot of the mountains northwest to the bed of the Tensift. The plain of Morocco, at the city, is 1150 feet above the level of the sea ; and a round prominent point or head of the mountain bearing southwest true from that city, at about forty miles distant, is the same that I have plainly seen from the deck of my vessel, when at sea twenty miles, by chronometer, west, true, from Mogadore ; and this head of the mountain bore from the ship by compass southeast by east, or allowing 22° of variation westerly, or south 74° east nearly, and as Morocco is in latitude $31^{\circ}, 37', 20''$, and in longitude $7^{\circ}, 20'$, west from Greenwich, and Mogadore is in latitude $31^{\circ}, 25'$, and in longitude $9^{\circ}, 31''$, and my ship at the time of seeing the Atlas and its snowy cap distinctly, was in latitude $31^{\circ}, 22', 40''$, and longitude $9^{\circ}, 48', 46''$, it follows that I must have seen that mountain, plainly, more than 100 miles ; this must give it an elevation of more than 18,000 feet above the sea. Moreover, it appears covered with snow from its summit for more than half the way to its base, as seen by the traveler's eye, upon the plain, from which it seems to rise rather abruptly ; and being in a latitude so low, surrounded as it is by hot and arid plains, I should conclude that the region of perpetual snow under such circumstances could not be less than at an elevation of 9,000 feet. This mountain range, which extends from the latitude of 28° on the Atlantic Ocean, and 10° west longitude, abutting as it were upon Suse, and the great Desert of Sahara, to the southwest to latitude $35^{\circ}, 40'$, north on the Mediterranean Sea, and ending nearly opposite the island of Sicily, between Algiers and Tunis, and about the longi-

tude of 7° east from Greenwich, thus making the length of this mighty chain of mountains about 20° , or about 1,100 miles from northeast to southwest, while its breadth is computed by natives at about 200 miles.

I have seen this lofty mountain range in latitude 28° north, and crossed over one of its spurs near Aquader, Morocco, when a slave to the Arabs. Its rounded summits were then covered with snow, and rising above the clouds. In sailing along the western coasts of the Empire, we lose sight of the ridge from off Saffi, in latitude 32° , until arriving at 34° northward of Rhabatt, when it is again seen towering as before, and crowned with snow; after passing the Straits of Gibraltar, near to which a northern spur shoots off, I have again seen the main snow capped range from the Gulf of Tremesen, and from thence all along the Mediterranean Sea until about the longitude of 9° east, where it seems to merge, near Cape Tabarca, in the undulating, but bold outline of that country.

This mountain is nowhere in Africa called "Atlas," by the natives; who simply give it the name of *Gibel Keber*, or, "Great Mountain" — generally adding to it the local name of the district through which it passes, as *Gibel Aintoga*, *Gibel Tafellet*, *Gibel Tedlah*, *Gibel Fez*, *Gibel Tremesen*, &c., &c. And the natives bless this mountain as the natural source from which they obtain water to drink, and to fertilize their country, during the long, hot, and dry seasons every year, when it would otherwise become a barren and uninhabitable desert.

After viewing this wonderful mountain, only four or five miles distant, with its base skirted with forests of olive and other fruit trees, among which were interspersed many cultivated fields and some villages, under the burning sun of mid-day, my youthful companion became much fatigued. We accordingly refreshed ourselves with a shade, and some pomegranates that our guide had providently brought with him; then starting, we soon gained

the beaten track of the market people and returned to the city, Master Leonard much burned by the intense heat of the sun, but gratified, as I was, with our excursion. On our way back, we examined the walls of a water-mill, now in ruins, which was built over the main canal, that conducts a stream of some magnitude into the south-eastern part of the Imperial Garden. The stream still runs through the arch where stood the water-wheel; but all the machinery is removed, as the Moors seemed to prefer the horse-mills in the city. The forest of canes, from 20 to 40 feet high, all along the margins of this stream, looks refreshing, with its wavy tops; and the reeds are here very useful in forming the trellis-work upon the arches that support the masses of grape vines, along the centre and near the walls of the gardens of the Sultan.

Saturday, Oct. 26.—Early this morning Mr. Willshire paid a friendly visit to our Governor, who thinks that he has been received very graciously, and that he shall retain his station. He assured Mr. Willshire that he felt a great interest in the commerce which had sprung up under our auspices, and which brought such large sums into the treasury for duties; and that he would exert himself to the utmost to forward our commercial views, particularly as, by so doing, he is promoting his own political influence (if any such thing exists in Morocco) and personal interests; for, at his first interview, the Sultan had expressed himself warmly in favor of Mr. Willshire and his friend, whom he assured the Governor would not be forgotten.

At 10 in the morning, we mounted to pay a visit, by special invitation, to the palace of the Bashaw of Siedmah, Hauhau, and Aintoga, provinces adjoining each other and bordering on Swearah, where he generally resides, and was well known to Mr. Willshire and myself, whom he calls his "friends;" and this phrase here has a peculiar, or rather an *intense*, signification. He is a gentleman high in the Sultan's favor, and acting-bashaw of three

rich provinces ; a man of learning, talents, industry, and princely courteousness of manners ; and although himself not at this time at the capital, his friend and representative at court was there, and had invited us to come and see the new palace, just built. By mistake of our guards, we rode out of the first gate, and consequently had to ride around the city, about six miles, to the *Beb Daguella*. At this gate we entered, and after threading many narrow streets, halted at length in front of the *Imo*, or tower, *Koutoubiah* ; where, entering a court, we met the Bashaw's principal servant, who had guarded us on our way to Morocco, and were by him ushered into the palace by a circuitous route. After passing through four large doors, we found ourselves in the inner court ; where, under a splendid roof, resting on highly ornamental pillars, supported by Moorish arches, of a horse-shoe shape, ran a covered gallery, quite around the square, which was about fifty yards across. This gallery is about twelve feet in width, and paved with square slabs of blue and white tiles, being glazed and polished like marble ; the centre of which was of terrace-work, of lime cement and small pebbles ; the whole as white as alabaster. At the four sides were large and high folding doors ; across the door-way of one on our right, hung a rich curtain of damasked crimson silk. We were invited to enter ; and there saw the Bashaw's "friend," seated, barefooted, upon a neat matress, covered with white linen : he arose, and taking us candidly by the hands, welcomed us in his friend's name, and in his own, in the most flattering manner, and then desired us to be seated, on chairs which had been brought there on purpose for our accommodation ; and this we found invariably the case whenever we went to visit Moors by invitation, although they themselves are always seated upon mats, carpets, or cushions spread upon the floor. After many mutual compliments, and while Mr. Willshire was talking in Arabic with our host, or rather his representative and factotum, I "took a look" at this room of audience. It is

about 20 by 40, and in front, or facing the door, stands a good Moorish-made high-post bedstead, with a bed neatly made; the ceiling of the room, throughout, was richly painted in mosaic colors, very bright, and the squares of each not more than two or three inches; two doors, opening upon closets at each end of the bed-place, were also beautifully painted. This chamber would be pronounced handsome in any country.

After some further conversation, this friend of a great man asked Mr. Willshire if he recollected visiting the Governor of Morocco about twenty years ago, in the reign of Muley Solyman. Mr. Willshire said he did. "Well," said the Moor, "I am the son of that Governor, and was then a little boy, like your dear little son here, (Master Leonard) and being curious to see a Christian I peeped into the room, when my father bade me come in, and take you by the hand as a *friend*, which I did, though terribly frightened, and have never since forgotten you." He is a fine looking, light complexioned Moor; talked familiarly on many subjects. His father was at one time Prime Minister to Muley Solyman, and the son seems to possess much good sense, and remarkable suavity of manners. After chatting about an hour, tea was brought in by a negro slave, and prepared by the chief officer of the palace. The Moors invariably put the tea into the tea pot, and pouring upon it a little water to draw out the flavor, put into the pot sugar enough to make it very sweet; and this is repeated each time of filling the tea pot with water; and after two cups around, they put into the pot some green spearmint, to give the last cup or cups, a different flavor.

After tea, the black waiter brought in a circular wooden salver, about three feet across, and the thin rim eight or ten inches high. It was placed upon the floor near us, and contained a half gallon white china bowl full of new milk, which is considered a complimentary treat. There was also another bowl with a large roll of sweet looking fresh butter, and another bowl full of honey in the

comb, white, and as clear as amber ; a number of fresh loaves of fine wheaten bread, and at the sides were the largest and richest dates I ever saw, with a dozen large pomegranates ; and in the centre, on wooden skewers upon a dish, smoking hot and very savory, were a dozen sticks of *cubbub*. This cubbub is made of tender lamb's meat, chopped fine, like minced meat, and properly seasoned. It is then wound around the new wooden skewers about a fourth of an inch thick, leaving the ends bare, and thus cooked over a furnace of well lighted charcoal. As our ride had given us an appetite, we ate of the meat — *cubbub* — several sticks apiece, and found it truly delicious. We also partook of the excellent bread, butter and honey, and then of the choice and luscious fruits.

After our lunch we were invited to examine the Palace, which we did throughout. It consists of four principal rooms, the ceilings and walls of which are richly painted in almost all the colors of the rainbow, and generally in squares of about two inches each ; and though the colors are rich and bright, yet they are so disposed as to harmonize well, and do not appear gaudy, and the effect, upon the whole, is pleasing — this evidently requires much labor and not a little skill. There is a fine fountain on one side of the court, where a stream of water is always pouring in its freshness, and running off again from its centre ; here are two rooms of preparation, and a neat bathing room, built over a furnace, where, at pleasure, the inmates may take a refreshing steam bath, deemed, in this country, very wholesome, and almost the only remedy in cases of sickness. The rooms for cooking are open upwards ; this is rendered necessary from the fact that all the cooking is done over burning charcoal in earthen furnaces ; a fine fountain is running in the kitchen, and the sleeping rooms for the female servants join that section.

The structure is but one story, yet it is about thirty feet high, with a terraced roof and high battlements ; it stands directly in

front of the tower Koutoubiah. The building is made of well shaped and well burnt bricks ; the columns around the court are circular, and between each are beautifully turned Moorish arches ; which, while they add to their beauty and lightness, take nothing from their strength and solidity. The same arches are also turned over each doorway. The walls are quite massive, being not less than three feet in thickness, and finished in a workman-like manner. The design, the masonry, the carpentry, the flooring, iron work, as the locks, latches, nails, hinges, screws, brass cocks and leaden pipes to the fountains, are all made by Moorish workmen ; the painting is particularly well done, and appears beautifully. This house, or palace, for it well deserves that title in this country, was built and completed within the last nine months, at a cost of about \$10,000, and demonstrates that the Moors still retain many of the useful and ornamental arts, with considerable refinement of taste, in which they excelled while masters of Spain.

Being received here as friends, and upon terms of equality, we had a better opportunity to see and observe the habits, manners, and feelings of the Moors, as well as their prejudices and foibles, than any mere visiter of curiosity, more especially if attached to any embassy, before whom they are exceedingly guarded, cautious and reserved. Before taking our leave, the Kaid presented a fine young gazelle to Master Leonard ; and soon after our return to our lodgings two servants came in, bringing the antelope and baskets of very choice fruits for our acceptance.

CHAPTER XV.

VISIT TO MOROCCO — CONTINUED.

Reflections — Ride to the suburbs — Bridge of the Tensift — Residence of the celebrated traveler, Ali Bey — Public dinner — Jews on a spree — Plantations — Tesar Solimo's grand dinner — Present of a Lioness to Capt. Riley, by the Sultan — Troublesome honors of the present — Preparations for a return — General description of Morocco — Journeyings on the Desert — Ruins of a city — A storm — Mogadore.

Sunday, October 27. — This being the anniversary of my birth, and having now lived to complete my *sixty-first* year, it is time to think of spending the remainder of the days that may be allotted to me, in quietude — in striving to do good to my fellow-men. Impressed with these considerations, and still loth to sunder myself forever from the society of my friend and benefactor, Mr. Willshire, I urged upon him the expediency of removing himself, with his young and interesting family, to some christian country ; and, of course, recommending to him a settlement in the land of my nativity ; where it affords me pleasure to know that all classes of my fellow citizens know him by his acts of benevolence and kindness extended to myself and the survivors of the crew of the Commerce, in redeeming us from barbarian captivity in 1815–16, and numerous other humane and benevolent acts of a similar character ; for he has redeemed from captivity and horrid slavery, and been the means of restoring to home and friends more than *twenty* Christians, who had been shipwrecked and made captives upon those coasts, during his long residence of a quarter of a century at Swearah, or Mogadore.

Contemplating together the occurrences of our acquaintance from 1815 down to the present moment, which has finally brought us together in the capital of the empire of Morocco, gave us much food for grateful reflection, and deep and thankful emotion. Among other thoughts in this moment of reflection was, that his goodness and active benevolence had brought with them their own and highest reward, in the consciousness of having done so much good to his fellow men, when no other help could have availed them. Yet, strange as it may seem, of all those persons, to preserve and redeem whom from captivity, he had exerted himself to the utmost, and lavished his means without stint or measure, *not one* of them, he said, except myself, had ever returned to see him, or even sent him a letter of grateful acknowledgements for his invaluable services! *But such is man!!* He, however, has received from various societies and the governments of several nations, the most flattering notices and official compliments, among which is the government of the United States; empty rewards to be sure, for such substantial services, and yet they are prized by generous and manly hearts, as the public evidence of the commendation of the world. And as his family is now fast merging upon the active pursuits of life, he expresses his determination of closing his large and extensive business here, and to remove to a Christian country at as early a period as may comport with his interests.*

Being anxious to conclude our business in this capital, and hasten our return, Mr. Willshire went early to-day to see the Prime Minister on the subject, who assured him that so soon as the bashaw of Taradant and Suse was despatched, which would be to-morrow, he would give his whole attention to our business, and urge the granting of our petition with the Sultan, and despatch us as soon thereafter as possible.

* See appendix in relation to Mr. Willshire's subsequent fate in that country.

Hence, as our time here must necessarily be short, we resolved to employ ourselves industriously in seeing "what was to be seen." We accordingly determined to ride out and view the plain and the river Tensift, and visit some other places. We were soon mounted, and accompanied by Tesar Solimo, the Kaid of the Mil-lah, and several mounted Moors for guards, we rode out of the city at the gate Abel.

As our cavalcade was coming to the gate we fell in with a large drove of the city cows, also going out, to pasture, and Moors urging them furiously onward; just as we were under the arches a loud explosion took place; I thought some one had fired a cannon near by, but on getting outside we saw the unfortunate cause of our alarm; it was a large cow that (being frightened by the driver,) had run up the inclined plane, the wide terraced ascent to the tower above the gate, and followed by the angry driver with a cudgel, actually leaped over the battlement, and fell near forty feet to the earth below, where the carcass lay literally burst to pieces by the fall! a hideous mass, to impress upon all the extreme folly and wickedness in indulging the angry passions, even upon the brute creation.

After passing the butchers' shambles, and crossing the bridge over the dry bed of the river near the city, we struck off N. N. W., between orchards of olive, date, palm, and other fruit trees, and large fields of Indian corn. The land we found better tilled as we approached the lower part of the plain of Morocco. We proceeded until about 11 o'clock, when we came to *El Kantua del Tensift*, or bridge over the Tensift river when full. We dismounted, and taking shelter from the sun under one of its arches, partook of some fruits and other refreshments; and then proceeded to examine the structure, and the stream, as it now is. This bridge was built to secure a passage across the valley where the river flows when fully swollen by rains, as it is impossible at times for many weeks together to cross by fording, although it is

now not more than twenty yards wide, and but a few inches of water.

This is reputed the largest bridge in the empire, and was built by a viceroy of Morocco, when the seat of the Western Moslem Empire was in Spain, in the 12th century. It is a noble and solid work ; half a mile in length and about forty feet wide. It is supported by thirty arches, turned with bricks ; the widest of these arches, near its centre, is about forty feet, and thirty feet high. The bridge above the arches is built with all sorts of rough pebbles and stones, well mixed together, as if cemented by a liquid lime cement of a fine quality, forming a solid mass, apparently harder than stone, and with little or no repairs, appears to have withstood the action of the elements and the corroding tooth of time for many centuries. One thing in this structure struck me as remarkable, and well worthy of note ; the river runs through a sandy country, and in order to prevent the bottom from washing away from the abutments, the builders have terraced, or paved, over the whole bed of the stream under the bridge for some distance above and below it ; making the bottom as solid as a rock, over which these waters have flowed for ages without impairing the solidity of the work. This must have been made in sections, by filling up *formes* made of planks with stone and lime or liquid mortar—letting them dry, and then pouring in more liquid cement, made the whole as solid as a granite rock. This is what is termed *tapia* work. The walls around the city are made in a similar manner at this day, with earth and stone together, dug out near their foundations, moistened with water and pounded into those plank moulds, which are about four feet high and four feet wide, by eight feet long ; also all the walls around the gardens, partition walls, and even the walls of an immense number of the one story houses in Morocco, inhabited by the poorer classes, are built in the same way. The abutments of the bridge, jut out above the bridge for a few yards, to break

and direct the force of the current, are also built of tapia work, and rise from the bottom in steps of three or four feet to the height of the arches, receding as they ascend ; these abutments, or breakwaters, seem as solid as rock, and show no signs of having ever been repaired or damaged ; and all has withstood the action of the elements and the raging of this river for about six hundred years, according to the Moorish records. And the terrace-work bottom, or bed, over which the river runs, at times half a mile wide and quite deep and rapid, owing to its depth, or thickness, and firmness of material, has stood for many ages ; and, from appearances, may last as many more, without decay or dilapidation.

After viewing the work from below, and going through many of its arches, we mounted, forded the river to its right bank, where a company of Moors were enjoying themselves upon the grass in the shade of some sycamores, and returned across the bridge, from the elevation at the centre of which we had a grand view of the river, and of its finely cultivated valley. This river rises in the Atlas, eighty miles east of this bridge, and running to the W. N. W., enters the ocean over a sandy beach, about forty miles north-east of Swearah, and twenty miles south-west of Saffy. In 1816, I rode around its mouth, upon a sand-beach thirty feet high, next the sea, when its mouth was completely choked up and its current stopped by sands, leaving a small lake within, near the ruins of *El Ksebah*. But the rains generally open it every winter, and when thus opened to the sea, it swarms with shad of the finest quality ; and, during the months of January and February, the markets of Saffy, Mogadore and Morocco, are supplied with this delicious fish. The valley of this river, both above and below this bridge, is broad, and its borders are cultivated, being fertilized by the waters taken out of the river's bed, and carried through and around their fields by small canals, or ditches, dug and kept up with almost incredible labor ;

this is done on both sides, and thus almost every drop of this river, in dry seasons, by an admirable system of irrigation, is employed in the support of vegetation. Its shores are lined by lofty trees, and numerous olive yards, or orchards, stand near its banks; while the date tree, towering aloft, gives an air of freshness to the landscape, scarcely equalled along the streams of Europe. After satisfying our curiosity here, we returned towards the city, until near the *Beb el Khems*, when, turning to our right, we rode near the walls for about three miles, and then turned off in a N. W. direction, riding through many cultivated fields and a beautiful forest of date trees, about three miles further, when we entered the gate of the *Jenen de Semelalia*, to the garden and former residence of the celebrated traveler, Ali Bey.

This garden is indeed a delightful spot, planted in the forest style, with trees yielding many of the fruits of Europe, besides the orange, lemon, citron, &c.; all profusely interspersed with the date, palm, and abundance of flowering trees and shrubs. We halted, and dismounted upon a noble terrace of brick work, overshadowed by orange and lemon trees, now bending under a load of fruit, and the whole air filled with the most grateful perfumes, and cooled by shady groves, and a beautiful limpid stream of water meandering along through both gardens — for there are two, separated by walls and a gate — and tumbling, in joyousness of mood, over small artificial cataracts. Here are some beech and poplar forest trees; also the cherry, pear, apple, apricot, quince, pomegranate and walnut, &c. &c.; and upon the eastern wall of the garden, stands the same airy and pretty pavilion, occupied as the residence of that famous traveler. It is of one story, but lofty; has only three compartments; is ornamented in front with two jasper columns, with sculptured capitals, and is paved within by square marble blocks of different colors; it has near it a little fountain, casting up water, that winds along a brick terrace at the doors, in channels, well disposed for imparting

coolness to the pavilion. With all these beautiful and tasteful appliances of art, the atmosphere was also clear, and with but just a breath of air to stir the rich, dense, and variegated flowers and foliage around us. Here Mr. Willshire, Leonard and myself, dismounted and walked, to enjoy the luxury of our *Oriental* paradise, which indeed is here inviting and soothing beyond conception.

After sauntering about through this lovely spot, we returned to our terrace, and there found tea prepared and quite a company of the most respectable Jews of Morocco, who had ridden out, at the invitation of Tesar Solimo, accompanied by his two sons, to take dinner with us; this being the only great occasion when they could be permitted to *ride* in and out of the city, as part of the Christian Consul's train, and to keep on their slippers. An abundant dinner was soon spread out, upon carpets, in the shade; among the dishes were hot cuscooso and cubbub, roasted turkeys, beef and mutton, followed by a dessert of grapes and other delicious fruits.

This was a feast indeed to the Jews, who being now free to enjoy themselves, soon began to drink tumblers of strong anise-seed brandy, and became wondrous merry. They drank our health over and over again, made toasts, pledged each other, sang songs, told anecdotes, laughed, talked, and made all sorts of strange sounds to show their gladness, and gamboled about among the trees and shrubbery like young asses; acting, on the whole, quite in *Christian* style on great public occasions; such as rejoicing at the success of the Presidential candidate, or at the occurrence of paying off the National Debt, &c. &c. Before this, I had considered such drunken and riotous meetings, and uproarious merry-makings, to have been of comparatively modern origin, first known among our Teutonic ancestors, who carried the invention to England, whence, in due course of emigration, and refined by more delicate and orthodoxal civilization, it was transplanted

into the New World, and there infinitely improved upon and *practically illustrated* by our most distinguished public men. But on this occasion, seeing these half-civilized *sons of Abraham*, (or *Noah* ?) held in political subserviency, and by all nations despised, holding forth in so grand a style, and performing so faithfully the true comedy of a public dinner ; and all this, too, among these circumcised tribes, who had never been in a civilized country, where the thing is done up according to *Christian* principles ! I said within myself, I have been all along mistaken on this subject — the invention must be much more ancient and venerable than I had hitherto believed ; and finally came to the conclusion, that, for the invention and perfect exhibition of these festive orgies, the civilized world is, after all, indebted to the happy genius of God's chosen people ! and, consequently, that Temperance preachers should respect and give due weight and deference to a system of getting gloriously drunk on great occasions, and not persuade men, women and children, to sign papers depriving themselves of such ancient and venerable enjoyments !!

Having spent the afternoon in this "flow of soul" and flood of brandy, our company of Israelites mounted, and we all rode on towards the city. The Moors in our company, our guards and some of their friends, ate their dinner apart, having obtained for themselves a good one, ready cooked, from the city ; yet, as they drank only *water*, their enjoyment consisted in simply satisfying their appetites, conversing with their friends, and smiling contemptuously at the drunken sallies and follies of the Jews. As our cavalcade moved towards the city, our company kept up a loud shouting and hallooing, which so disgusted some of our Musselmen guards, that they left us and entered at the first gate ; within which we heard the Moors playing *Label Barrad*, racing their horses and firing off their guns ; and Mr. Willshire very prudently determined to ride around to the gate at which we first entered. This movement gave time for the fumes of their brandy

to evaporate, while the servants on foot ran along and steadied those upon mules ; but yet, when we entered, they were shouting and vociferating gloriously, which noise put Mr. Willshire's Arabian charger into such a panic as to render him almost unmanageable. As we passed along in front of the Imperial Garden, the black gate-keepers rushed out with their cudgels, intent on stopping their noise or changing its tones to wailing ; by giving them some money, however, and telling them that those Jews were the Consul's retinue and must not be bastinadoed, they were somewhat appeased and retired, yet grumbling and calling the Jews very ugly names.

Monday, October 28. — We learned to-day that the Bashaw of Taradant and Suse had been despatched, and had set off for his government ; and that the Minister's " friend " had left for Swearah, whither we hope soon to follow, for I long to return to my ship and my country.

Tuesday, Oct. 29. — Mr. Willshire went very early and visited Sidi Atel, who informed him that he had got through with his audience, that he had been well received, and that all was well with him ; and also, that what Mr. Willshire had asked as a commercial favor would be granted ; and furthermore, that the Sultan had determined on presenting me with a lion, as the highest mark of respect, which would constitute me his *brother*, as such animals, being *king* of beasts, were presented only to a brother king, emperor, or sovereign state, and as returns for kingly or national presents. Moreover, it was decided that Master Leonard was to have a fine *poney*. In relation to myself, this was an honor that I did not covet ; well knowing that such a gift causes much expense and trouble to the receiver, who must immediately provide a cage, and keepers, to feed and transport them by land ; and yet I could not refuse the gift, without giving mortal offence ; but Master Leonard was overjoyed with his promised present from the Emperor.

After this we mounted and rode out of the old gate — when I say we mounted and rode out, I mean our party, but not including any Jews in our company, since the feast at Semelalia, when *Christian* protection became necessary to keep them from being bastinadoed for their drunken revelry — we then struck off upon the plain, in a northeast direction, on a route which we had not before taken, towards some olive and date groves that we soon saw on the horizon. The plain is apparently quite level, and in a ride of two hours, we crossed fourteen aqueducts leading from the mountain to the northwest. These water courses and channels have been dug with great labor and diligence. They are formed under ground, and their course is indicated by a line of mounds of earth, occurring at distances of from ten to fifty yards; these are made by the material excavated, and thrown up out of shafts, dug in the form of wells to the required depth; and then they communicate below by a tunneled channel for the water. These wells, or shafts, are from ten to thirty feet deep, according as it appears to the height of the summit from whence the water is drained or led, as well as the form of the ground above to form inclined channels. We examined many of them closely — the opening, or tunnel between the wells, is large enough to admit a man through their whole extent, in order first, of course, to excavate them, and, also, from time to time as may be necessary, to remove the earth that may have fallen in from the roof or sides, to obstruct the free passage of the water. The channels are not lined with either wood or stone. They are but simple channels, or arched passages in the earth, which is of hardness and dryness sufficient to sustain the superincumbent mass, and to keep the channel, when once made, generally quite free; although some of them had been recently cleared out, as we judged by seeing, in some places, fresh heaps of earth above the old baked mass around the wells. Looking down from the top into a deep well, nine feet across, and seeing at its bottom a rapid stream of water

gliding along, was quite a novelty ; and impressed our minds strongly in favor of a people whose industry had thus brought those streams from the mountains, whose ever-melting snows stationed above the region of cultivation and of vegetation, supplied their sources ; while the art and labor of these Moors have conducted this liquid treasure for twenty, and in some places thirty miles, under ground, across a desert plain, in order to render their arid grounds susceptible of cultivation. In that distance there were also two open canals, or streams of water, running the same or nearly the same course : that is, from northeast to southwest. Along the banks of these there were growing a range of lofty waving reeds or canes, like bamboos, generally an inch or two in diameter, and twenty or thirty feet in height ; these reeds are very useful to the Moors, but grow only along rivers or upon water courses. Much of this portion of the plain has been cultivated in grain the last season, but was now quite dry and parched, as no rain had fallen on it since last February, *eight months* ; but all the people are hoping and praying for rain, in order to again plow and sow their land. We now came among large open plantations of olive and date trees, extending as far as the eye could reach towards the mountain and the Tensift river. Riding through these groves, which are laden with fruit, we soon gained the road to Tedlah, a province among the mountains, east of Morocco, and turning towards the city we very soon discovered the Imperial Gardens, which we had previously visited ; and riding in, dismounted on a terrace in front of a richly painted pavilion, where we spent an hour, in the shade of orange and lemon groves, bending under their loads of fruit. We quenched our thirst with the water of a clear fountain, refreshed ourselves with fruit brought by the Sultan's gardener, and enjoyed the sweet odors wafted from the aromatic plants and shrubs around us ; among which is the *jessamine*, now in full bloom, a tree here of fifteen feet in height, with a top twenty feet in diameter, which seemed literally

a fountain of perfume. While around us were playing fountains of the purest water, which was carried round upon the terrace in stone courses and along the margins of the squares in channels, and imparted a cooling and delightful freshness to the spot; and to crown all the sources of exquisite enjoyment in this bewitching place, numerous birds of beautifully variegated plumage were flitting about, happy in the beauties of their retreat, warbling forth the gayest notes of liberty and joy, as though expressing in song their gratitude to their beneficent Creator. And there seemed nothing now wanting but the presence of those captivating *houries* and dark eyed virgins, promised to the true "believers" by the Koran, to make this spot in all particulars equal to the sensual paradise of the Mahomedans. After some time spent in this garden, we reluctantly left it, and mounting, returned to the city, first to our garden, and then to the dirty *Millah*! What a woe-ful contrast, descending so suddenly from this dream — "it was not all a dream" — of ecstatic enjoyment, to the level of a common, every day life among the Jews of the *Millah*!

Wednesday, Oct. 30. — After passing a sleepless night, I arose early with a swelled face and a raging tooth, from a cold contracted in the beautiful garden yesterday. Nothing interesting occurred to-day.

Thursday, Oct. 31. — Tesar Solimo gave a grand dinner in honor of Mr. Willshire, to all the Jew merchants of Mogadore, and the principal men of Morocco. It was served up in European, or rather English, style, upon a long, high table, with seats of American chairs, with English crockery and glass. The dinner was sumptuous, and consisted of every thing good to be obtained in this country, with a dessert of the richest and most luscious fruits. Healths and toasts were drank, and all went off admirably; but I had to keep my bed on account of my swelled face. After dinner, a horse was brought from the Sultan as a present to Mr. Robinson, James Renshaw & Co.'s factor and acting mer-

chant in Mogadore, who had been prevented by sickness from coming up to Morocco. The horse appears to be a fine, spirited animal, rather small but young, and of a dark bay. Mr. Willshire, as Mr. Robinson's agent for the time being, had, of course, to fee the officers who brought the horse, to an amount greater than his probable value; but this is the Moorish system of honors and rewards to favorites and friends.

No sooner was this business despatched than a messenger entered with a smiling countenance, as if he bore some pleasing news; and it turned out at last to be that the Sultan had sent a *Lion* for the acceptance of Rais Riley! In a moment the air was rent with shouts of congratulation to me, the happy recipient of such Imperial honors! In this both Moors and Jews joined; the women whooping as if to split their lungs, and our heads, as their method of showing their joy. In a moment all was bustle and confusion; as we learned that a large lioness had been walked by her keeper into the Jews' market square, where a large concourse of people of all ages and sexes were collected, and whose safety was quite at her mercy. What should we do? I was sorely perplexed. We had no cage nor place in which to secure so large and powerful an animal. Tesar Solimo, nevertheless, turned his mule out of a part of a public granary, and the ferocious creature was quietly led into it and chained to a stout beam; this was its only security from escape, for the front was entirely open; though the gate of the yard might be shut, yet as two sides of the yard were composed of the tapia-built and earthen walls of one story flat roofed Jew houses, they were soon filled with men, women and children, "*a shoof el seba*," to see the lion.

The Jew keeper of the animal got a sound flogging from a Moor for daring to beg that the beast might remain until morning where it before was. "No," said they, "the Sultan's order must and shall be instantly obeyed." His word is the law of the land; and many persons on the route got a caning for exhibiting

their curiosity too boldly. For myself, I am yet confined to my room with ague in my face, yet obliged to receive constant congratulations for this, the highest honor, as considered in this country, that the emperor can confer even on princes and potentates. To me, however, it proves rather an inconvenience than an honor; a license from his Majesty to ship two Arabian horses would have pleased me much better; yet I must submit to the Imperial taste with christian fortitude and resignation; I must "bear my blushing honors" as best I may.

Friday, November 1st.—This morning Mr. Willshire had an audience with the Minister himself, with his suite. He made lofty congratulations, descanted (very learnedly no doubt,) upon the good character of the Lioness—her docility and beauty; said that the Sultan had expressed much concern that he had not a male lion, instead of a female, with which to present his friend, *el Rais*.

After many compliments this Governor and Prime Minister was despatched with *forty dollars*, and several canisters of tea and loaves of sugar, and some silver, among his followers. The system of keeping ferocious animals in this country is thus: Whenever a lion or leopard is caught and brought to the capital, the principal Jews are assembled, and the feeding and taming of the animals are consigned to them. The government furnishes a chain and provides a place to secure the animal; but all other expenses devolve upon the poor degraded Jews. And in order to secure their faithful attention to the animal consigned to them, and guard against poison and treachery on their part, they are at once notified that in case the animal should die, they, the Jews, shall pay for him *five thousand dollars!* and in case of the animal's death, this payment is rigidly enforced. One of the Jews is accordingly appointed by their principal men as the keeper, who is then obliged to do that duty, and to feed and keep the animal clean, until the Sultan sees fit to dispose of it by gift or

otherwise ; and even until after the foreign functionary gets the animal to his own country ; but the body of the Jews no longer find meat, etc., nor pay the keeper after the animal is bestowed. Hence, in my case, I must henceforth provide food for this animal, which consumes twelve pounds of beef clear of bone per day ; and I must also pay the keeper until I can embark the animal. This lioness has been kept at Morocco for two years and a half, and the sons of the tribe of Judah of course rejoice at getting clear of the expense and their responsibility.

Sidi Abel, our Governor of Swearah, had his grand audience with the Emperor to-day. He laid before his Majesty his presents, the accounts of the custom house, and counted out to him large sums of money, \$10,000 of which Mr. Willshire had just paid him in Spanish doubloons, that I had this voyage brought from Spain. Report says that the Governor was greeted with a friendly reception from the Emperor.

Saturday, Nov. 3. — This being the Jewish Sabbath, nothing was done. I learned, however, that some thieves had entered our garden, over the wall, and carried off twenty fat sheep, of those given by the Government to the merchants ; with sundry other articles, including a saddle ; but our stuff deposited in the pavilion, where our guards *slept*, was all safe.

Sunday, Nov. 3.— This morning a Talb came and wrote a letter for Mr. Willshire to the Sultan, thanking him for favors received, and asking leave to return to our families and country, together with some small favors. We were the more anxious to return, by having been so long detained on account of our Governor's slow movements, and tarrying so long to pack up rubbish of glass-ware, &c. ; which circumstance afforded an opportunity for his enemies to intrigue against him, which frightened him prodigiously. But, in this emergency, he has found that one Christian friend is better than a host of *professing* natives. The Governor attributes his escape from the wiles of his traducers, to Mr. Willshire's influence at court.

My face is still frightfully swollen, and for the last three days and nights sleep and rest have deserted my pillow, notwithstanding the free use of opiates, gargles, &c.; and I am told that, unless I change the climate soon, there is danger of its becoming a case of goitre, (swelled neck,) which, as well as elephantiasis, leprosy, and ophthalmia, are but too common in this city. Many of the mules that brought up the tents and heavy baggage of the Jew merchants, have died here in consequence of having been overloaded and overdriven, and standing each day too long under their heavy burdens. Their masters have, consequently, to buy others here, where good mules are highly valued, and often bring two, and sometimes even three, hundred dollars.

Mr. Willshire had a long audience of the Minister, Ben Idris, at 12 o'clock, who has conferred with the Sultan in regard to our requests, and believes that we shall get nearly all asked for and be despatched in three days. This gave us new spirits. We then called on our Governor, and next upon the Jew merchants, many of whom are sick in bed, and all low-spirited, as none of them have received any mark of favor from the Sultan.

Monday, Nov. 4. — Three Moors are employed in making a box for the lioness, or a *palanquin*, in which to transport her ladyship, upon camels, to Swearah. The workmen use rough tools, and rougher plank, sawed from a tree of strong whitewood, from the Atlas mountains, with a saw similar to that used by our wood-sawyers. I went to see the lioness, to-day; she appears to be in a bad humor, at so much disturbance; but is a fine, large animal.

About sunset, a fine colt was led into the court, a present from the Emperor to Master Leonard Willshire. The colt is a stallion of two years old, fourteen hands high, dark bay, with black mane and tail, a blaze in the face, three white feet and the other black. Leonard was in a perfect ecstasy of delight; and the fond father's feelings were manifested, in my friend, by a radiant countenance, and his eye moistened with pleasurable emotions as he witnessed

the joyousness of his son. Presents of cloth, for a *sulham*, silks, dollars, tea and sugar, in return, were given and received with equal satisfaction; and I joined in the gratifying and heartfelt gladness that filled the heart of father, son, and their numerous friends.

Tuesday, Nov. 5. — I employed this afternoon in teaching Leonard to ride and manage his colt, which proves to be gentle and tractable, and is indeed a splendid animal.

Mr. Willshire received an invitation from the Minister to visit the Great Imperial Gardens, to-morrow, in honor of our Governor, who gives a feast there, and who requested that the Jew merchants should also be informed of it, that they might attend; for on such occasions money is to be paid to the gate-keepers, and we very *disinterestedly* concluded that it was altogether better to divide that thing among the merchants than to assume the whole responsibility ourselves. Such an invitation is moreover regarded as quite an honor among these descendants of Abraham, and affords them an opportunity to make friends with the chief, on whose good will they must depend for facilities in pursuing their business in future. This invitation is, moreover, equivalent to an *order* from the Sultan.

Wednesday, Nov. 6. — After an early dinner, we mounted; Mr. Willshire and Leonard on the horses lately presented them by the Sultan, while, unfortunately for me, as my Imperial present, the lioness, would scarcely prove a good saddle beast, I had to make other arrangements. Accompanied by the Jew merchants, we proceeded to the same line of gardens which we had visited on the day of our audience with the Emperor. After a short ride in these seemingly interminable gardens, or orchards, and the fruit and flower gardens, all of which occupy an enclosure of from six to eight thousand acres, we halted under the archway, which is a mile long, fifty feet wide, and about thirty feet high, thickly covered with grape vines, whose dense foliage is quite

impervious to the sun's rays. It is quite open at the sides, except so far as closed only by the huge stocks of the ascending vines; yet all along, near a trench of running water close to the upright posts that support this umbrageous structure, are planted aromatic shrubs and flowering plants, whose fragrance, under this cool and elegant canopy, is most delicious.

We dismounted under this bower — gigantic, simple, and beautiful — near a fountain, which was pouring out large streams of water, clear as crystal; and, advancing on foot, soon reached a pavilion, surrounded by a terrace of brick, adjoining the arched canopy on the north side, and, passing this, entered upon a beautiful gravel walk, adorned by shady shrubs and a profusion of flowers. (This was in November!) In the middle of a square, seated upon a carpet of green grass, in the shade of an orange grove, its boughs bending nearly to the earth with their burden of fruit, sat our Governor, *Sidi Abel Zimerany*. With him were three or four other Moorish officers, all plainly dressed. The Governor received us sitting, and in the most friendly manner; showered forth a host of compliments, during which time numerous cannisters of tea, and large baskets, filled with loaves of sugar, were brought to him, which he distributed to a number of respectable looking Moors, with orders to make tea near the pavilion. Large groups of Moors were seated, here and there, cross-legged and barefooted, upon carpets under the trees of the garden, and under the arch of vines; while a band of Moorish musicians, consisting of twenty persons, with rudely-made violins and guitars, seated in a circle upon the ground, played with prodigious energy, accompanying their music with their voices. Their music was loud, wild, and, upon the whole, pleasing; it died away at the end of every stanza, with a delightful cadence that, to my ear, was truly charming.

Nearly fifty fires were lighted, as I should judge, in fifteen minutes; several near each group of persons. These fires were

kindled in earthen pots, or furnaces, perforated with holes, a few inches asunder, a little below the rim, and were filled with charcoal. A tea kettle was placed upon each furnace, and the fire aided by the blast of a hand bellows (of the English pattern, though made in Morocco,) soon boiled the water; while sets of tea pots, mostly of pewter and of English fabric, and small china cups and saucers were brought out on brass salvers and placed near the guests. The tea was soon ready, and served out plentifully. It was made as sweet as syrup by the lumps of sugar put into the tea pot; at the same time were served up cakes, fruits, and sweet meats, nuts, almonds, &c. After the guests had concluded their repast, the musicians ceased their performance, and also partook of the refreshments. We then walked around in conversation for an hour or more, when, at the Governor's request, the horses, lately presented to Mr. Willshire and Leonard by the Emperor, were brought out and shown to him. We then took our leave and returned to our quarters, much gratified at having attended a Moorish Governor's feast as friends and equals; and exceedingly pleased to observe the simplicity, order, and quiet decorum there exhibited.

Thursday, November 7.—This morning I took a ride with Master Leonard, who is delighted with his fine gentle horse. We took a long trip around the walls, and returning, visited the *Jenen Memonia*, at the southwest part of the *Suxebah* part of the city. This is a shady, well planted, and well watered retreat—a paradisaical residence, full of fruits and flowers, with fine pavilions, and every thing necessary for comfort, and to delight the senses. After this ride we returned to dinner. Upon our return we learned, with joy, that our business with the Sultan was completed, and in a manner much to our satisfaction; and all is now bustle and preparation for a start, to-morrow, for Swearah. Men and women are employed all night in making and preparing bread and provisions for our journey, and our host of servants. The

cage for the lioness is finished, and her majesty enticed into it by the prospect of eating a fine capon at the other end from the entrance ; which, without knowing the snare, she pounced upon, and was secured by a shut door. Two gentle camels are provided to travel in tandem style, and carry the *palanquin* of her majesty between them ; and six men, including the keeper and camel drivers, are employed to attend upon her during her journey to the coast.

And now having, in the course of our stay in, and peregrinations about this city, seen much, if not the most of it, I may attempt some general description, though it might be deemed superfluous after so many attempts by abler pens ; yet having examined it much in detail during my several tours around and amidst this ancient, singular and interesting capital of the Western Moors, I deem such description not improper.

The city is, by many travelers, called Marocco — by the French Maroc, by the Spaniards Maruccio, and by the native Moors, Jews, Shellahs, and Berebers, Maracksh ; and this, being the Arabic and national name, is, strictly speaking, correct ; but as none other sounds so familiar as the one I learned in my youth, I shall accordingly call it Morocco.

The city of Morocco stands on an extensive plain, elevated about fifteen hundred feet above the level of the ocean, which is about one hundred miles distant to the northwest. It is the most ancient capital of the Western Moorish Empire, yet the city of Fez, to the northeast, about two hundred miles distant, is the more modern capital, and is about the same distance from the sea at Rhabatt. The Sultans reside in each of these two capitals, by turns ; in their absence from either, leaving a vice-roy, who is generally one of their sons, in charge and command of the other capital and that division of the Empire, during their absence from it.

The city is walled in to protect it from the incursions of the

Arabs, who, living in tents, wander about all over this whole country. The walls from the foundation about ten feet up are made of brick and lime cement, and above this, to the height of twenty or thirty feet, of the common earth dug out near their base, and, after being moistened with water, is pounded into wooden frames made for the purpose, and placed upon the wall, thus forming a series of long, broad and deep blocks, which, after exposure to the dry atmosphere of this climate, assume the appearance, and attain to almost the hardness of stone. This is called *tapia work*; and many of the interior walls, all the garden walls, and an immense number of the common houses are built in the same way, and of similar materials. The walls of the city are supported on their outside by square towers, at about fifty yards distant from each other, and about thirty feet square; with battlements above, and loop-holes for musketry for their defence. There are seven principal gateways, all built in strong towers, with intricate entrances; and two or more double and very strong gates are so well arranged in these towers as to form a good defence. Upon the terrace of each of those towers are some embrasures, and some cannon are mounted. There are three gates opening to the northeast and to the north; two to the northwest and to the west, and two to the southwest. The circumference of the city walls, (exclusive of those around the gardens at the southeast portion of the city, where are situated the Sultan's palaces,) is about seven miles. This includes the *El Ksebah*, or fortress portion, the walls of which form an oblong square of about half a mile. The latter walls are of stone and lime cement, and are forty or fifty high, but the walls are not defended by any ditch, or by any other works except the batteries of a few guns over the gates.

This immense area, enclosed as the city, contains many gardens of considerable extent, besides three containing about twenty acres each, belonging to the Sultan. There are, also, large open spaces not built upon, covered with great masses of ruins of the

former city. This city has frequently suffered by sieges, and has been nearly depopulated by the plague.

The interior of the city is divided by many walls similar in construction to the main walls ; and at the entrance of each quarter of the city, peopled or unpeopled, you meet with strong gates, each having a keeper. I have counted, in one morning's ride, no less than sixty of those gates, all sufficiently large to admit a loaded camel, or even wagon ; of which, however, these people are destitute. Even at one little square, of about thirty feet, among the mechanics, no less than four large gates opened into as many long streets of shops, through each of which we rode, as before narrated. The *Millah*, or the quarter occupied by the Jews, is a square of about half a mile, including their burial ground.

The buildings of this city, the main cluster of which is in the northwestern portion, and occupy nearly a square mile, are mostly of one story, though there are some of two stories. All the market places are very spacious buildings, with interior courts, colonnades, galleries upon arches, and are of two and sometimes three stories high. All the wealthy Moors live in their private gardens, where, surrounded by walls, they enjoy life in fine palaces in as much retirement as though in the country ; they have many negro slaves, and live in ease and amidst abundance.

The streets are narrow and crooked, with small shops on each side, and many of them are covered over above the buildings with tent cloth, thatch, branches of palm trees, etc., to ward off the broiling rays of the sun, in their long, dry, and enervating summers. The houses are generally built of brick and lime cement, and all with flat roofs or terraces. But immense numbers of the hovels, or the dwellings of the poorer classes and mechanics, are of tapia work, made of the earth dug out near their site ; this gives the city an old and *muddy* appearance.

Of the numbers of the Moorish population it is very difficult to

form an estimate that would approximate to the truth, though it appears excessively crowded, and indeed almost innumerable in some sections; and, judging from the number and constant employment of the mechanics, the population must be very great. The only data that I can obtain on the spot is from a numeration made at the time of the seige of the city about forty years ago, in the reign of *Muley Eitzid*; when, out of the body of mechanics, 40,000 were under arms by draft, and received their rations accordingly; this was in addition to the militia, and this body was called the night guard. Some of the old Moors say that the city is quite as populous now as then; if so, the number of its population must exceed *three hundred thousand*. But I believe this to be much above the correct or actual number, and I estimate the population at 150,000 Moors, and about 10,000 Jews.

The buildings on the side next the streets have no windows, and only one large door as an entrance into an interior court, open above; and around this court are the rooms in which the people live, generally long and narrow, but protected all around by a projection of the roof from six to ten feet, or even more. Which projection is supported by stone pillars, upon which arches are based, of the horse shoe shape, to bear the weight of the terrace above. This gives an airy and even elegant appearance to the court, while the galleries around protect the rooms from the blaze of their summer sun.

By this method of construction of their houses, they live quite privately if they choose, there being no yards adjoining that of the next neighbors. The little shops that occupy the front of the dwellings upon the streets have no interior communication with the other parts of the house. These shops have but one door, where the shop-keeper usually sits, upon his mat or carpet, cross legged and barefooted; and such are their dimensions that he can reach nearly every article in his shop as they are placed on shelves around without giving himself the trouble to rise for

MOORISH COSTUME.

serving a customer ; yet they are extremely polite and attentive, to make the most of his merchandize. These shops usually contain a miscellaneous assortment of articles, such as silk scarfs, silk and cotton *haicks*, or dresses for women, with nearly every article of the dry goods line used in the families of this people. Other shops, again, are stored with coarse pottery, furnaces, etc.; others with morocco leather, and all kinds of Moorish shoes and slippers ; others with all sorts of bridles, saddles, and trappings for horses ; while many are filled with glass and earthen ware from Europe, also imported tea-kettles and tea-pots, mostly of iron and pewter ; these seem to form a good business stock, for nearly every Moor, as well as Jew, who can afford it, drinks tea, and treats his friends with this beverage, " the cup that cheers but not intoxicates," as the principal luxury of this country. The use of tea and sugar (as an incident,) has become so common that four times the quantity is now imported into Morocco that there was in 1832 ; and all imported finds a ready market. Hyson is their only tea ; and loaf, lump, or white Havana, their only sugar.

Of the churches and public buildings, the *Koutoubiah*, or, *El Sma Koutoubiah*, in the northwest part of the city, is the most considerable. The '*sma*,' or tower of this building, is of solid stone masonry, and is about eighty feet square, as near as I could judge from passing by its base, (for I might not approach to measure it,) and is *two hundred and twenty feet* in height, of the same dimensions its whole height. Above the main structure is placed a smaller tower of about thirty feet square, and with its rounded dome is about fifty feet high ; above the centre of this dome is an iron spire of some twenty or thirty feet in length, around which is a brass globe about six feet in diameter, or eighteen feet in circumference. The ball, or globe, originally placed here, is *said* to have been of gold, and an inch in thickness ; but about four hundred years ago that was taken down,

and its place supplied by this brass one, with two smaller balls above it. This remarkable and gigantic tower, which, with its spire is about *two hundred and eighty feet high* ! and so large within that the terraced steps, as the Moors declare, can be easily, and frequently are, ascended by loaded mules and donkeys ; is said to have been built in the twelfth century. Altogether it certainly is a very remarkable building — remarkable for its immense altitude, its permanent construction, and venerable for its antiquity. This can be discerned out on the plain from Morocco at a distance of thirty miles, as I myself have witnessed. It is constructed of a rough cut granite, and lime cement. From whence this stone was procured I could gain no information, other than that they were brought from the mountain on carriages made for the purpose. It is exceedingly massive and imposing in its appearance ; and its windows, winding upward as though to admit light to its interior terrace, are finely sculptured, but in the *Arabic style* of architecture, for I cannot say the *Arabic order*.

The church, or mosque below, is of one story only, but of vast dimensions ; the roof is pointed and made of green tiles. One side of this mosque faces a narrow street, and is entered by six large doors ; another side opens upon a square to the southeast, and has also six large entrances. I estimate its quadrangle at two hundred feet at least ; and it seems to be but a puny building compared with its majestic tower.

There are five other principal mosques with towers, or minarets, in different parts of the city, but in relation to them I observed nothing remarkable. There are also a hospital, a college, and a large building used as a mausoleum of the illustrious dead, as before narrated.

Within the city walls are four Imperial gardens of about twenty acres each, all planted with fruit trees, shrubbery and grapevines. These are separated from the city on the southeastern side by two walls, and a large space between them, in which space is a

great stream of water, reserved as a basin for watering camels and other animals, and to which there come daily a great number of Moors, black and white, to wash their *haicks*. In this large space are the enclosed gardens, in which are the imperial palaces with many pavilions; the usual residence of the Sultan when at this capital.

This range of gardens, surrounded by four walls about seven miles in circuit, is subdivided by walls into a great many squares, and contains, by my estimate, about eight thousand acres of land. The greater portion of this immense plantation is planted with fruit trees of all kinds that flourish in this climate; they are fully grown, and being well watered, are generally bearing their respective fruits. The gardens are altogether watered by streams of water brought from the Atlas over the plain, and through it by an infinite number of aqueducts, both above and below the surface of the ground: a herculean performance, which individual means could not be expected to accomplish. Within these gardens are two large basins, or rather lakes, in one of which is a European built pleasure boat; this basin covers about two acres, the other is smaller.

Besides those immense fields, or gardens, called *jenen*, two miles north of the city, there is another series of imperial gardens, four in number, and all covered with fruit trees, bearing the most delicious fruits, also of the most valuable kind. In order to aid in paying the enormous expenses of bringing water, and of planting and keeping those immense fields in such magnificent condition, every year when the different varieties of fruit are upon the trees and nearly ripe, notice is published that on a certain day all the pears, for instance, in the *Jenen Memonie* will be sold to the highest bidder. Any persons desirous of purchasing said fruit, for two days prior to the sale have free access to the *jenen*, or garden, with full liberty to examine and make their own calculations of their value. The day arrives, competition is

excited, and the fruit is sold for a fair and reasonable price. This year the pears alone, in that garden, sold in this way for \$4000; the pomegranates in the garden we occupied sold for \$1,400; the olives (though a poor yield this year) sold for \$2,200, and the quinces for \$800, etc. In this manner the sales of the fruit in the imperial gardens, by an estimate shown me by a native Moor, amount annually to more than *fifty thousand dollars*, and this amount is over and above all that is reserved for the use of the court and its numerous officers and retainers.

In order to obtain the large supplies of water, it becomes necessary to visit the foot of the mountain some twenty miles distant, and conduct it in aqueducts across the wide plain of Morocco. There is no stream of any considerable size running along its base; the source being simply from the melting of the snows above, on the higher portions of the mountain whence a small stream or rivulet finds its way down every channel or gulley; and thus, if not led away by artificial means, would soon be lost amid the sands of this vast and arid plain, or be wholly dissipated and carried away by the rapid evaporation of this climate. It, consequently, becomes necessary, in order to preserve this liquid for the purposes of irrigation, to conduct it away from the mountain, under ground. Thus, to save as much of this liquid treasure as possible, it has been carefully led into those rude but efficient aqueducts, which are tunneled out all through this plain, and within a half a mile of each other, receiving their supply at different points on the mountain and approaching each other as they draw near to the place where their wealth is distributed. Each tunnel and its stream is easily found by the long line of mounds of earth dug out and brought above the surface at the mouths of innumerable wells sunk to a proper depth. This system of conduction has been adopted in order to prevent the great waste by evaporation, and also to carry the water on an inclined bed where the fountain head was found too low to bring the stream above the

plain. I have not counted them, but I am fully satisfied that nearly *one hundred* of these tunneled aqueducts have been dug across this plain, some of which, however, are now filled up, and in ruins.

The Sultan, Muley Abdher Ahman, has an engineer at present employed, who is, here, considered a great architect. He is a Moor, and an able and a useful man. He has built many very superior aqueducts of stone and lime, and has thus watered great districts that were before barren and uninhabitable. He carried a fine supply of excellent water from a hill and a small river, about four miles, into Mogadore. This was about seven years ago ; and this now furnishes a full supply of pure water to all the inhabitants, some 30,000, who had before that for seventy years been obliged to transport all their supply of water that distance in small barrels, upon donkeys ; no small labor, and, of course, no trifling expense to the consumers.

The present Sultan seems to be a liberal and an enlightened monarch ; is constantly endeavoring to accomplish all in his power to contribute to the permanent good of his people. His revenues arise from the ten per cent. duties on all articles imported into his dominions ; and from the fixed duties to a much higher percentage on all the productions of his Empire exported therefrom. The duties on most articles of importation are taken in kind, at the custom houses ; the duties on exports, in cash. In the provinces he claims one-tenth of the whole crop of wheat, or grain, gathered, and one-twentieth part of all cattle. This right is incontrovertibly settled by the Koran ; and, besides this, the Bashaws and Governors so manage as to collect considerable sums in presents and largesses.

His whole revenue is estimated at about five millions of dollars per annum. He keeps but a small standing army, only about 6000, and these mostly blacks. But the militia is exceedingly numerous, not less than 800,000, every man well armed with long

Moorish muskets and sabres, or cimeters ; and in addition to this, it is believed that, in ten days' time, in case of invasion, the Emperor could place an army of 100,000 cavalry at any point of his extensive coasts ; and this formidable army could be speedily strengthened by hosts of infantry columns.

The Moors are excellent horsemen, and manage, to admiration, their fine, high-mettled steeds. They load and fire their long guns on horseback with great rapidity, and, besides, are good marksmen ; and though not accustomed to the discipline of the European soldiery, yet the shocks of such large masses of cavalry, coming on in lines of quick succession, even by their physical force, must be regarded as very formidable to any force that might oppose them ; the more so, as they are urged on by an extreme love of country, and being intrepid by their belief in *fate*, and being also taught that the souls of all who fall in battle with Infidels, are immediately transported to the gardens of paradise.

Friday, Nov. 8. — I started, at daylight, and got out the cage of Madame Zooda, the lioness, through small lines, to the market place, then along it to two camels at tandem, each between the bearing-shafts, and soon got her off with her keeper, the drivers and foot attendants. We had much trouble, yesterday, in getting her into her cage, or *palanquin* ; and succeeded only by driving in a large fowl, when she immediately sprang upon it, and was herself thus secured.

After taking some tea, we took leave of the family of our host ; and the females, particularly the wife of Tesar Solimo, are the most accomplished and lady-like in manners of any Jewesses I have seen in Barbary. Having made an adieu to our lady friends, we mounted our beasts — the mules being loaded — and left our garden and departed from the city of Morocco, by the same way we had at first entered, accompanied by many Moors and Jews, to take their leave. At 10 A. M. we stopped among the date trees, spread our carpets, and took breakfast. After this, with

huge drinks of brandy and abundance of good wishes, our city friends took their leave and returned ; while we proceeded on our journey, accompanied by Tesar Solimo and his son, who are to spend the night and to-morrow with us.

At 1 P. M. we crossed an arm of the Tensift, and at 3 o'clock, pitched our tents in the *Caravanserai Engala de Inensara beer, cura*. Here a Mr. Moshe Belesa, a merchant, fainted, but soon came too, and I felt a strange sensation about the brain and the heart; after taking a little water and wine, this passed off; undoubtedly the effect of heat and exhaustion.

Saturday, Nov. 9. — The lioness was busy all night trying to break her cage, but without success ; the camel owners insist that this cage, or box, is the worst of all loads, and want to break, or rather *mend* their bargain. At this I am not surprised, for in these crooked foot-ways, among thorn bushes, rocks and rolling stones, the camels, fastened together, must be cautiously led, and great care taken at every step ; and we were obliged to pay them for lying still to-day, for the Jew keeper could not travel, and agreed to make them a further allowance, on the safe arrival at Swearah, else they would give what they had done and go home.

At 7 in the morning, we concluded to pay a visit to the sanctuary of *Sidi Meheddy Sherahdy*, a large town at the beginning of Muley Abdher Ahman's reign, where this saint, who still lives, and is a *shiraf*, or son of the Prophet, and son of the Idris family of the Emperors, (who occupied the throne about fifty years ago,) had fortified himself strongly at this place, got a large and powerful army, many cannon, and large supplies of ammunition, provisions, &c. ; it being then near the left bank of the Tensift, only twenty miles from Morocco. He declared himself Sultan, gathered large forces, and bid defiance to the power of Muley Abdher Ahman, who had been proclaimed Sultan by his uncle Muley Solyman, upon his death, in 1822, when Abdher Ahman was Governor of Fez, the capital city of that portion of this

empire, and Viceroy in the Emperor's absence. Immediately upon this hostile demonstration on the part of Sidi Meheddy Sherahdy, Muley Abdher Ahman hastened to Morocco with what forces he could muster, said to be about 40,000 men; lost no time, gave instant battle to the saint, and came very near falling into his hands through the treason of his principal officers; for the saint, owing to his great sanctity and riches, possessed wonderful influence over the minds of the Moors. He was, however, defeated and driven within the walls of his fortress by the energy of the Sultan, and his personal bravery. Here, however, he stood a siege of more than a month, and killed and wounded many of the besiegers, until his cannon balls failed; after which they fired smooth stones taken from the river's bed. But, with this *sanctified* species of missile, he was less successful than the shepherd warrior of Israel, who, with but five smooth stones, caused such a disastrous overthrow of the Philistines; and finding that nothing was to be hoped for from further treason in the Sultan's camp, and knowing that he could not hope to conquer, but must ultimately fall, he caused information to be conveyed to the Sultan that he would capitulate, abandon his pretensions to the throne, and would retire, if allowed, never more to trouble him.

This was acceded to on the part of the Sultan, who is proverbially humane, and he likewise granted amnesty to all his followers. The saint was accordingly permitted to escape with his family, and the town and fortress were given up; whereupon the walls were levelled to the ground, and the cannon carried away; but the houses still remain, and there are said to be in and about the ruins, about 6,000 inhabitants.

We started at 8 o'clock to view those ruins, as we could not travel on the Jew's Sabbath. They were about ten miles to the north of our camp. Mr. Willshire, Leonard, (mounted on his new horse) myself, and two guards, went on the excursion. Af-

ter riding a short distance, I observed a thick cloud of sand approaching us from the southwest, and the air seemed filled with something like a thick, hazy smoke. I mentioned this to Mr. Willshire; we however, continued on a half an hour, meeting great numbers of Moors with mules and donkeys loaded with vegetables, going, as they said, to the south an hour's ride to a market. The plain, as we neared the river valley, was more broken, with low grounds, here and there water, and some culture. Springs began to gush out of the sides of the sand hills, and bulrushes and some other coarse water grasses, as well as some shrubs, were found growing. At this moment the sun was suddenly darkened, a gale of wind from the southwest, carrying a cloud of sand, struck us. When we recovered our breath a little, we turned about and with much difficulty retraced our steps to our caravanserai; where our tent, filled with fine sand, was gladly entered. The pegs were secured more firmly, and we lowered it as much as possible, and at 11 o'clock are waiting for rain, which we expect will soon come, and moderate the gale and still the flying sand. At 4 o'clock P. M., the expected rain came on in squalls, and continued till about midnight, when the wind abated, and the rain continued just long enough to lay the dust in this arid and sandy region.

Sunday, November 10. — At daylight we struck our tents, and took leave of our Morocco friends, Tesar Solimo and son, and proceeded on our "winding way." At 4 P. M., we stopped for the night at the caravanserai of *Shawak*, much fatigued; nothing occurred worthy of note. We pitched our tents within the walls of the town *Woden Shawak*.

Monday morning, Nov. 11. — We started early, and passing over the dreary desert called the *camel's neck*, with a strong wind, we pitched our tents at the spring, as before described on our upward journey. Soon after our tents were pitched, rain began to fall, which continued several hours. But we were rendered very

comfortable, for Mr. Willshire's Jew agent, four miles off, furnished us straw and barley for our beasts, now eighteen in number ; also, a sheep, some fowls, eggs, and bread, for our large company. He very kindly went back and forth several times during the night, and brought a fine load for Mr. Willshire of grapes, pomegranates, watermelons, &c., all very refreshing.

Tuesday, November 12. — We sat off early, and after a very tedious journey, though through a region of considerable cultivation, where the plowing and sowing of wheat and barley has been done since we passed here five weeks ago, and the grain is now up and of a lively green ; while the very path and desert hills are covering themselves with verdure, and flowers of many colors and variety are just peeping forth from the baked surface, and among masses of limestone that nearly covers the whole country, and seem to breathe forth their fragrant orisons in gratitude to the Giver of *rain*. To-day I parted company with the lioness, she taking a smoother road, and at four in the afternoon we came to the olive grove under which we encamped for our first night after leaving Swearah. Since that the ground has been plowed and sowed, and in the grove, and around it, the wheat is now six inches high. Here we were met by a party of Christian friends, from Swearah, bringing with them Alexander Court, Mr. Willshire's youngest son, a fine lad, eight years of age, and having passed mutual congratulations, we slept sweetly and soundly.

Wednesday, November 13. — We again started early, and at 9 o'clock pitched our tent and waited an hour, when we were met by M. De la Porte, the French vice consul at Swearah, his beautiful and accomplished daughter Virginia, with Miss Sarah Maria, eldest daughter of Mr. Willshire, now nearly thirteen years of age, and possessing all the loveliness and accomplishments a fond father could desire. The moment she saw her father who ran to meet her, crying to her " don't jump — don't jump ! " she seemed to forget all danger, literally sprang from her mule, and flew into

the arms of her fond and noble hearted parent. Then her brother, Master Leonard, came running up to greet his sister after their first separation in life. I must veil the further exhibitions of this affectionate and happy meeting, for it cannot be described.

After a repast and a dessert worthy of the occasion, and duly saluting his clerks and friends on the part of Mr. Willshire, we again mounted, and with our fair friends, descending the sand hills, were met by large parties of Jews, with whom were Mr. Willshire's two little daughters, six and four years of age. We took them from their nurses, and with them rode into town, where we found a host of Moorish musicians in his gallery, who received us with music and shouts of welcome. Mr. Willshire, of course, soon sought his lady, whom he found in fine health ; then followed another scene of importunity and begging and giving to the poor ; and thus our journey, in this particular, ended as it began.

CHAPTER XVI.

Capt. Riley sails for the U. States — Extracts from the Log Book of the "William Tell" — Arrives at New York — Preparations for another voyage — Sails for St. Thomas — His last voyage, and Death.

CAPT. RILEY having made ready his vessel, on the 6th of December, 1839, bade adieu to Mr. Willshire and his family, (and which proved to be the *last* farewell,) and sailed from Mogadore for New York, where he arrived in safety in the latter part of January, 1840.

On this voyage he encountered one of those selfish, narrow-hearted, and narrow-minded men, whose conduct libels their human form, and who subject themselves to unpleasant animadversion wherever they are met. The following extract from the Log Book of the William Tell, will show Capt. Riley's manner of putting such persons on the record of infamy :

"Saturday, 25th January, 1840. — Wind north, in latitude 33°, 45', longitude 68°, 30'. Bore up at 2 P. M., to speak a vessel under our lee, as we were rather short of beef — spoke the brig Pactolus, 17 days from Cayenne, for Salem. Asked her Captain if he could spare any beef? His answer was, gruffly, "No — I might spare a little bread;" but refused to shorten sail or make any inquiry as to our wants, or our reasons for setting our flag and running for her; and crowded all sail as though fearful of being boarded by pirates, or equally fearful of rendering a friendly service to another vessel. Our Captain set him down a 'whole hog' mariner, but no seaman! and makes these

remarks here for the benefit of all such *swinish* countrymen. Wore ship to get out of his odor as soon as possible.

Tuesday, Jan. 28. — Wind N. E., light airs. Lat. $30^{\circ} 46'$, long. $71^{\circ} 30'$. Saw a spar afloat — down boat and examined it; proved to be the foremast of a schooner of about 100 tons, white pine, painted white at mast head, and green near the deck — carried away even with the deck — rigging chopped off — saved a small piece of a new cotton duck foresail.

At 9 P. M. spoke the brig *Arcturus*, Batten, from Montevideo for Boston, who kindly supplied us with a barrel of beef. This gentleman and *seaman*, is entitled to, and I beg him to receive, my warmest thanks for this friendly service; for he hove to his brig, in a dark night, and acted the man in every particular.

JAMES RILEY,
In command of Brig *Wm. Tell*."

Having arrived at New York and discharged his cargo, he proceeded without delay to make preparations for another voyage, but not to Mogadore. The brig was freighted, and on the 4th of March, 1840, sailed from New York, bound for St. Thomas,— which port, however, he was destined never to reach.

His health had never been restored from the excruciating treatment, which he had received in France, in 1837. At the time of sailing, on the last voyage, his health had materially failed; but not to such a degree as to disable him from taking command of his vessel, as formerly. But, from the time of sailing, he became more unwell; and, from the statement made by Mr. W. R. Walworth, first officer of the brig under Capt. Riley, it appears that he came on deck, in command, on the second day out, for the last time. After that, his health declined so rapidly that he remained in his cabin, below, until the 13th of March, 1840, when he expired, without a struggle or a groan.

A coffin was prepared, with a design of taking his remains to

St. Thomas, for interment. But, owing to the warmth of the weather in that climate, this was subsequently found to be quite impracticable ; and, on the 18th of March, when about two days' sail from St. Thomas, his remains, with due solemnity, were committed to the seaman's sepulchre — “ the deep, deep sea ” — on whose bosom he had spent so many years of active enjoyment, as well as of toil and peril.

Thus ended the life of CAPTAIN JAMES RILEY !

Perhaps no private citizen of this country, whose name has been altogether unattended by any official station to give him consequence in the opinion of the world, has made himself so extensively or so favorably known, as has Capt. Riley. As a private individual, his career was strange and eventful, to a remarkable degree. Considering that he held no official position, that he made no pretensions to prominence in the important movements of civil or military affairs of the commonwealth, the circumstances and incidents of his life have nevertheless conspired to give him a celebrity which but few attain. Endowed by nature with a bodily frame of the most manly mould, a constitution of iron-like vigor, and gifted with a mind of uncommon energy and force of will, he was the man, of all others, to accomplish, endure, and surmount, what he only could have accomplished, suffered, and overcome. He had mingled in every grade of human society : from the most exalted ranks in Christendom to the extreme limits of barbarism. He had mingled and conversed, in their native tongue, with the Red Men of an American wilderness ; and had been kindly greeted by Presidents of the United States and heads of the Executive Departments : He had been a captive and a slave to the wandering Arabs of the deserts of Africa ; and again had met in honored audience, and received princely presents from the Mahomedan Emperor of the Moors.

By reason of having thus become familiar with human nature in its most diversified and extreme phases, he became an acute discerner of both men and things ; hence his mind, regulated by strong, sound sense, and disciplined by such vigorous experience, always retained its proper balance when associating with any class of society,—never losing its equilibrium in excess of admiration for those called great, nor turning in silly disgust from the condition of the barbarian. From this cause, his narrations of events, and description of persons and places, are always piquant, and yet minutely accurate ; nothing escapes his observation that may throw light upon the ordinary habits and customs of the strange and peculiar people, among whom it was his singular fortune to be cast. He has traveled where no other person in Christendom has ever gone ; and where no one dare go, without necessarily subjecting themselves to barbarian slavery more horrible than death. And yet from this bourne, from which no traveler but himself has ever returned with tidings, we have full and accurate narrations, simple, unvarnished statements of the modes of Arab life on the boundless deserts, written with that calmness which indicates the well-balanced mind.

Without pretensions to scholarship (though he *spoke* several European languages,) more than such as was usually attained in common schools by the youth of our country in his time, his narrations are nevertheless clear and concise ; it is COMMON SENSE inditing its own ideas and impressions, without leaping into heroics, or evaporating in ecstasies. And this it is that commends his “narratives” with so much favor to the popular mind.

His philanthropy and benevolence were as ample as the sunshine. He was penurious of nothing but his time. He was ever actively employed, and his industry was most untiring and persevering.

His reputation for integrity and commercial probity was “not only pure, but above suspicion.” And in all the immense and

complicated commercial transactions in which he was employed, when *all* was frequently confided to him, either as commander, supercargo or part owner, not a single instance of divergence from the strictest good faith has ever been whispered against him. His disposition was amiable almost to a fault. "His enmities were written in sand; his friendships were graven on marble." To the latest hour of his existence, he retained the most affectionate and grateful remembrance of his fast, true, and worthy friend, WILLIAM WILLSHIRE! Even when his intellect was but feebly struggling beneath the shadows of approaching dissolution, fond memory still darted a gleam of radiance athwart the falling darkness of dissolving nature, and mingled the name of his FRIEND with the names of those dearest to him of all on earth; and "WILLSHIRE" was the last word that trembled from the lips of the dying RILEY!

BO MOHAMMED OF STUKA.

APPENDIX.

U. S. Consul at Tangier — Letter to Mr. Forsythe — Mr. Forsythe to John Q. Adams — Reply — Letter to Thomas Jefferson — Letter to John Q. Adams — Capt. Riley's "Narrative" — The charge of falsehood refuted — Particulars of a conspiracy against Mr. Willshire and Capt. Riley — Another conspiracy of London Jews against Mr. Willshire — Trial in Court of King's Bench, Westminster — Rais bel Cossim — Letters of sympathy respecting his Narrative — Capt. Riley's petition to Congress on the subject of French Spoliations — Certificate of Mr. Atkin relative to the Arabian horses — Letters of Capt. Riley, describing the western country, to B. Sanford, Esq., and Hon. Edward Tiffin — Letter from De Witt Clinton to Capt. Riley on Internal Improvements — Letter from Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck — Critical Review of Sidi Hamet's narrative, by Count Jacob Graberg, of Hemso, Librarian to Duke of Tuscany — Mr. Willshire — Conclusion.

FROM the publication of Capt. Riley's first narrative to the time of his death, a considerable correspondence with various persons was kept up by him, which is too valuable to be lost; and yet does not occur among the continuous incidents of his life and travels. Such correspondence is therefore more properly introduced in the Appendix than to disjoint the connection of the narrative portions of his papers by its introduction there.

Such correspondence, therefore, as may seem calculated to interest and instruct will be found in this appendix.

It will perhaps be remembered by the reader of Capt. Riley's former narrative, that he arrived at home from Africa after the wreck of the brig "Commerce," and his own captivity among the Arabs on the 20th of March, 1816. After his return he acted as the friend and agent of Mr. Simpson, then U. S. Con-

sul at Tangier, in the matter of petitioning Congress for Mr. Simpson's relief. At the second session of Congress, after Capt. Riley's return to the United States, he filed a petition in behalf of Mr. Simpson, the purport and nature of which will be learned by the following statement of Capt. Riley, made in a communication to the Hon. John Forsythe, then a member of the House of Representatives, and chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

To the Hon. JOHN FORSYTHE:

Sir: As the petition of James Simpson, consul of the U. S. in all the dominions of the Emperor of Morocco, was presented to the House of Representatives by the Hon. Henry Clay, the last week, and referred to the committee on Foreign Relations, I beg leave to state to you, as chairman of that committee, such facts as have come to my personal knowledge respecting the petitioner and his situation, in order that they may be laid before the committee for its information.

In August, 1815, I had the misfortune to be shipwrecked on the western coast of Africa, and subsequently to endure all the tortures and sufferings of which human nature is capable, until November of the same year, when myself and a part of my unfortunate crew were redeemed from slavery by a benevolent Englishman, Mr. WILLIAM WILLSHIRE, of Mogadore, in the Moorish empire. After my recovery in some degree, I sent my redeemed companions by water for Gibraltar, and went myself by land to Tangier, in order to see the American consul there, with a view of making arrangements with him for the redemption of my late mate, and the remainder of my shipmates, whom I had been compelled by circumstances to leave in slavery on the Great African Desert.

On my arrival at Tangier, after a tedious journey of sixteen days, Mr. Simpson received me with great urbanity; and after

giving me a change of his own clothing, mine being drenched with rain, and furnishing that refreshment which my situation required, he was forced, for want of room in the house he occupied, to go out among the miserable Jews — there being no such thing as a tavern or a public house in Tangier — and hire a dirty room, into which he placed one of his beds for me to sleep on. I also found that one of his sons, with his wife and family, who had just come from Italy on a visit, were lodged in a Jew's house; and I soon learned that the apartments into which his office and family were *stowed*, belonged to the Swedish Consular House, and had formerly been occupied as its *kitchen*!

Mr. Simpson has been forced to adopt the title of Consul General, and to conform to the rules of etiquette established by those officers, in order to be respected in his station, and to support the honor and dignity of his government. He represented to me his embarrassed situation; having asked leave, several years since, to build a Consular House for the use of the Government's agents, he had bought a spot of ground, which I saw, near his present residence, on which to place the building, being a very eligible situation. But after repeated representations to his Government, and receiving no order to effect that object, and in order to protect, as much as possible, his family from the destructive ravages of the plague, which breaks out in Tangier, he built, with his private funds, a house on cape Spartel, three miles from Tangier, which he called Mount Washington, and where he used to reside in the summer, while he was able to support the expense; but not receiving the salary for which he at first stipulated and always expected, and having expended all his private property, was compelled to let that establishment fall to ruin. I was informed, both by the Consuls at Tangier and my friends at Gibraltar, that Mr. Simpson was a strict economist, and indeed every thing about him bore the strongest evidence of that fact; and yet the Consuls, and his friends at Gibraltar, have been obliged, at different times,

to advance him funds wherewith to support his family, in their ordinary expenses. He was obliged at that time, owing to a great scarcity, to import from Europe, for his own consumption, American flour at the rate of \$20 per barrel ; and he had been always obliged to get from the same country nearly all his other provisions, together with all his clothing, liquors, &c. &c.

I also beg leave to observe, that in my opinion, our Consulate in Morocco is by far the most important one we have in the Barbary Empire ; and being at the entrance of the straits of Gibraltar, that officer is enabled to obtain the earliest and most accurate information of the disposition and important movements of all the Barbary Powers. And being only twelve miles from Europe, he can immediately communicate with our Government, and advise such precautionary measures to other Consuls near him, as will secure the property and persons of our citizens, in cases of war.

It is well known by the Powers of Europe, that the Emperor of Morocco is by far the most powerful and dangerous of the Barbarians ; that, whenever he may think fit, he can send to sea several frigates and brigs of war, and as many gallies and small corsairs as he may think proper, on to the broad bosom of the Atlantic, where they may commit such depredations on unarmed merchant vessels, and by enslaving their crews, as will soon force the nations depredated upon to come to his terms ; and tribute has been always exacted from and paid by the Christian commercial states, in one way or another, to that Power.

The whole of the Algerine, Tunissian, and Tripolitan sea forces, can be blockaded and kept within the Mediterranean Sea, by two or three stout frigates of any nation ; but the whole British navy could not blockade the coast of Morocco. Impressed with the importance of maintaining peace with the Moorish Emperor, the English, French, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, Danish, Swedish, Italians, and some other European Governments, have built

and furnished commodious houses, for their representatives near the Moorish Court, to dwell in. They appoint, as Consuls General, men of high respectability, of unblemished character, and distinguished for talents; and as no emoluments whatever can be derived from trade in Tangier, where they all reside, their salaries are made equal to their expenditures. Thus, the English Consul receives £1200 sterling, salary; the French Consul 20,000 francs; the Spanish, \$7000; and none of the Consuls of smaller states receive a less salary than \$4000; and most of them have secretaries, who are also allowed a salary. Our Consul at Algiers is allowed \$4000 a year, and merely because he is styled by the Government "Consul General;" for he has no Consul under his control. Yet Mr. Simpson has, for many years, served his country in the most important interests on the Barbary coast, and has received only \$2000, salary. Our Consuls at Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli, have been frequently changed, thereby occasioning to the United States new additional expenses of outfits, &c. &c.

During the whole of his Consulate, Mr. Simpson has associated with the Consuls General of other nations; has been, of course, obliged to incur the same expenses as they, in proportion to the number of his family and visitors, and to hire and furnish his dwelling besides. Having been in this manner reduced to poverty, he requested me, when in Tangier, to make his situation known to his Government, in the full confidence that the administration would, when they knew it, grant him that relief to which he always considered himself entitled; but being since informed by the Department of State that no allowance whatever could be made him above the \$2,000, per annum, without a special act of the Congress of the United States in his favor, and being reduced to absolute distress, he sent me the enclosed power of attorney, with the letters and papers accompanying it, praying me to use my best endeavors in his behalf, by petitioning that

honorable body to grant him relief in the ways mentioned in the petition to which this refers, or otherwise.

Mr. Simpson is a valuable and correct man, highly esteemed by all who are personally acquainted with him, and much respected by the Moorish government. He is a gentleman in his manners, just, benevolent, and economical in his public as well as private character. He has always been firmly attached to our excellent institutions and government, and has faithfully done his duty in the service. He has never failed to relieve his countrymen when in distress, either in Africa or on the coast of Europe adjoining, as far as was in his power; and, besides, the duty naturally devolving upon him as Consul at Tangier, he has been highly instrumental in delivering from Arabian and Moorish captivity and slavery, many valuable citizens. Since I left that country, he has ransomed two of my late crew, together with four other Americans, wrecked on those dismal coasts, in different vessels. From his knowledge of, and long experience in that country, of its inhabitants, government, &c., I consider him the best fitted for that important station of any man that could be found.

I have undertaken this business at his request, and from motives of friendly kindness, though attended with great personal expense, and beg to recommend it to the early, favorable and enlightened attention of your honorable committee.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient, and very humble servant,

JAMES RILEY.

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1818.

Mr. Forsythe to John Quincy Adams, Sec'y of State of U. S.

COMMITTEE ROOM, February 23, 1818.

HON. J. Q. ADAMS: I am directed by the Committee of Foreign Relations to ask of you —

What annual allowance on account of salary has been made to

James Simpson, the Consul of the U. S. at Tangier, in the Empire of Morocco, from his first appointment to the present time?

Whether he has ever been paid at the rate of \$4,000 per annum? How long such an amount was given him? and what were the reasons for allowing, and for discontinuing it?

Is there any information in the government department which shows the necessity of increasing the compensation of the Consuls residing in Morocco?

What services were performed by James Simpson, while residing at Gibraltar, from 1792 to 1795? and if any, what compensation was received for them?

Do the interests of the United States require the residence of a Consul at Mogadore, while the present Consulate is continued at Tangier?

What amount of salary would be reasonable to a Consul residing at Mogadore?

Are all Foreign Consuls residing in the Barbary States prohibited from engaging in commerce by their respective governments?

I have the honor to be,

With due consideration,

Your obedient servant,]

JOHN FORSYTHE,

Chairman, &c.

John Q. Adams to John Forsythe.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, 19th March, 1818.

Sir: The allowance of James Simpson as consul for the U. S. at Tangier, has always been \$2000 a year, as limited by law. He has often solicited an allowance of double that amount, which he has always been informed could not be granted.

From the statement drawn up by Mr. Simpson on the 24th of June last, and addressed to Capt. James Riley, his agent for settling his accounts with the Treasury of the U. S., it appears that

in the year 1792, certain articles destined as presents to the Emperor of Morocco, were deposited in the custody of Mr. Simpson, then a merchant residing at Gibraltar, which gave rise to a correspondence between him and the Department of State. Mr. Simpson was appointed Consul of the United States at Gibraltar in May, 1794 ; and in May 1795, was authorized by Col. Humphreys under a discretionary power from the President, to proceed to Morocco to obtain the recognition, by the reigning Emperor, of the treaty which had been concluded between the United States and his predecessor. For this service, besides the payment of his necessary expenses, he received a compensation at the rate of \$100 per month. He accepted the trust with instructions from Col. Humphreys, in which this compensation is expressly designated for it; and he accomplished the service accordingly. In May, 1796, he was appointed Consul to the Empire of Morocco, with the salary authorized by law, of \$2000 a year. In the interval between 1792 and 1795, Mr. Simpson represents himself as having rendered frequent and important services to the United States, by obtaining intelligence both from Morocco and Algiers, essentially useful at the time ; and by the adoption of measures under the direction of Col. Humphreys, which probably saved several American vessels from falling into the hands of the Algerines at the time they commenced their hostilities against the United States in 1793.

By reference to the correspondence of Col. Humphreys with the Department of State, it appears that in October, 1793, he was in Gibraltar when the Algerines, after concluding a peace with Portugal and Holland, were enabled to issue with their corsairs from the Mediterranean, and to renew their hostilities against the commerce of the United States. The measures of precaution referred to by Mr. Simpson were taken by Col. Humphreys, then Minister resident of the United States in Portugal. There is no reason to doubt that Mr. Simpson was instrumental in

carrying them into effect; but if so, it was certainly at no expense to himself; and about the same time he settled an account with the United States without making any charge, or indicating the intention of advancing any claim for it. For certain public property which had been deposited in his hands, and of which a sale was made, he received a commission of two and a half per cent.

Mr. Simpson states that from his first appointment as Consul to Morocco, he remonstrated against the salary of \$2000 a year, as inadequate, and intimated to the Government of the U. S. that he would not hold the office unless the salary should be increased. He has, nevertheless, continued to hold it with the full knowledge that the salary limited by the law was \$2000 a year, and without ever having reason to expect that it would be increased.

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a letter lately received at the Department from the Consul General of the United States, to the Barbary States, in which he declares it explicitly as his opinion that each of the four Consulates might, with much advantage to the public service, be separated from and made independent of the others, without any Consul General, and with a salary of \$4000 annexed to each of the four offices. The Committee will judge how far the reasons alleged by Mr. Shaler, ought to outweigh those which should caution us against a sudden and total change of a system long established, especially when the alteration proposed involved an increase of expenses to nearly the double of its present amount.

This consideration, at all events, appears to be decisive against the appointment of a second Consul in the empire of Morocco, to reside at Mogadore. No such Consulate is believed to be necessary: none such is maintained by any of the European powers. The appointment of such a second Consul would be introductory of the additional expense, not only of another Consular salary, but also of new presents to be made to the authorities of the

country. There is, besides, reason to apprehend that, if not from the first moment of such a new establishment, it would very soon become the rival and competitor of the Consulate at Tangier; and instead of operating as a beneficent institution for the protection and redemption of our fellow citizens falling into captivity, the two offices would appear in a state of permanent discord and opposition to each other.

If, however, it should be thought expedient to appoint a Consul at Mogadore, he should be interdicted from being concerned in trade, and receive a salary at least equal to that of the Consul at Tangier. It is believed that none of the European Consuls in Barbary are allowed to engage in commerce; and great inconveniences were experienced by the United States from the commercial speculations of their Consuls before the same prohibition was applied to them; so great indeed that the interdiction of trade to our Consuls in Barbary is one of the principles to which we should most rigidly adhere, and without exception.

I have the honor to be, yours, &c.,

JOHN Q. ADAMS.

To Hon. JOHN FORSYTHE.

In pursuance of the same business, Capt. Riley wrote to Mr. Jefferson, then in retirement, the following communication:

NEW YORK, Dec. 19, 1818.

Venerable Sir: Having, since my return from slavery in Africa, been appointed by Mr. James Simpson, our old Consul in Morocco, his agent for settling his accounts with Government, (of about 23 years standing,) and to petition Congress, on his behalf, for arrearages of pay, to which he has always considered himself justly entitled, or for such other relief as Congress shall deem fit to afford him in his present embarrassed circumstances, occasioned by his long residence in a barbarian country, where

his necessary expenditures have been, from the first, far more considerable than the salary allowed by law.

I take the liberty (though personally unacquainted) to enclose to you a printed copy of his representation and petition, which I shall in a few days cause to be laid before Congress, with a request that you will have the goodness to examine the document, particularly as many of the facts therein stated must have come within your official knowledge, when Secretary of State and President of the United States.

If Mr. Simpson's statements are true, (which I have no doubt of from his general character,) and if he has uniformly and faithfully, as well as economically, discharged the various duties of his office, with a due regard to the public interest, I think there cannot exist a doubt that he is entitled to the consideration and munificence of his Government and country.

I have visited Mr. Simpson, and partook of his bounty and hospitality when in distress. He has expended, besides his salary, all his private property in the public service ; and has been forced to the humiliating necessity of appealing to Congress in order to enable him to pay debts he has been obliged to contract for his ordinary subsistence. I have also to request you, in Mr. Simpson's name, to make such remarks on his representation and petition, as your knowledge of facts, benevolent character and sense of justice shall dictate, and to forward them, together with such other observations as you may think proper, to the Hon. Secretary of State, as early as convenient, in order that he may be thereby prepared to answer such questions as a committee of Congress may propose on this — to Mr. Simpson — most important subject.

I shall be happy to receive a line from you in Washington, where I expect to be in ten days.

Wishing you health and every blessing, I am, with considerations of veneration and esteem,

Your ob't serv't,

JAMES RILEY.

Hon. THOS. JEFFERSON,

Late President of the U. S.

The application on behalf of Mr. Simpson was ultimately unsuccessful, as the following communication shows :

WASHINGTON, Feb'y 24, 1819.

Sir: On the 19th inst. I had the honor to receive, from the State Department, a letter dated 18th, stating that you had reported on the subject of Mr. Simpson's memorial and claim, and enclosing the several letters I had previously lodged, for inspection, in that Department.

Since then, information has reached me that the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate of the United States, to whom that memorial was referred, have asked and obtained a discharge from its further consideration; and I have since been furnished with a copy of your report on this subject, communicated to the Chairman of that Committee in the Senate.

Your communication is written in a manner and style so liberal and enlightened, and portrays in such amiable and correct light, the character, merits and services of Mr. Simpson, and the inadequacy of a salary of \$2000, to the Consulates of Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli, that I am sure it will at least prove a balm to the depressed and desponding mind of this aged, faithful, and worthy officer, who has long been afflicted by pecuniary embarrassments, and other distresses incident and unavoidable to a residence for a quarter of a century among, and collision with, fierce, cruel, and faithless barbarians. Permit me therefore to tender you, sir, in Mr. Simpson's name, as well as for myself, our most sincere

acknowledgments. Hitherto, the settlement of his accounts has been delayed by the raging of the plague in Tangier, which rendered it impossible for Mr. Simpson to forward his necessary vouchers. But I trust that they will be received in the course of this season, when they shall be duly forwarded to the Department. And I cherish the hope that, if any balance shall be found against him on the books of the Department, it may be remitted to him, in consideration of his long-continued and meritorious services, both to his Government, and to individual citizens enslaved by the Moors of South Barbary and the Arabs of the Great African Desert: more especially as such balance must have accrued in consequence of his conviction, from the first, that his stipulation of \$4000 salary would be allowed and paid him in his final settlement. And having expended his whole private fortune, amounting to more than \$30,000, in this service, in order to duly support the interests, honor, and dignity of our nation, which he represented, and the American character generally, in the Moorish dominions; this liberality towards Mr. Simpson would seem to be no more than substantial justice.

After learning that the Senate had concluded not to act on Mr. Simpson's petition and memorial, as a bill was reported at the last session in the House of Representatives, raising the compensation of the Consuls in Barbary to \$2,500 a year, and as that bill is about to be acted upon, I have, in consequence of the intimations contained in your report, suggested the propriety of so amending the bill as to fix those salaries at \$3000 per annum: particularly so far as regards Mr. Simpson — and this, I trust, will meet with your approbation.

It would be exceedingly gratifying to the community if a fund could be raised by subscription, or otherwise, and set apart for the especial purpose of redeeming, from slavery, our citizens who may hereafter fall into the hands of merciless barbarians on the African continent; where my late mate and four of my crew, if living, are still held in savage bondage.

There is one subject more near to my heart, and to which I beg leave to call your attention; and herewith take the liberty of enclosing a paper showing what the citizens of New York are about to present, as a testimony of gratitude and esteem, for the meritorious and benevolent conduct of the man, who proved to me and my companions in slavery a Deliverer, and a Benefactor — Mr. WILLIAM WILLSHIRE, of Mogadore, in Morocco. In my opinion he merits the official notice of the Government; and I beg leave to solicit for him, not a gift, but simply a letter declaratory of the sense, entertained by the President of the United States, of his conduct in redeeming from captivity and slavery, and restoring to their country and friends, unfortunate American citizens, wrecked upon a distant and barbarian coast. Such a letter would be a memorial to his family of the worth of my friend, Mr. Willshire, and would serve to excite in others a spirit of virtuous and magnanimous emulation.

Accept, sir, the high consideration of respect and esteem entertained for your character, with which I have the honor to be

Your ob't serv't,

JAMES RILEY.

Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
Sec'y of State of the U. S.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Willshire was passed by Congress, and communicated to him through the medium of the U. S. Consulate at Tangier; and also an expression of regard and admiration, for his philanthropic and useful services to American citizens in distress, was in due form communicated to him, from the President of the United States, through the English Government. These complimentary expressions on behalf of the American Government to Mr. Willshire, were well deserved, not only for his services in the redemption of Capt. Riley and his crew; but for many other

similar services, to other persons, under various circumstances of distress and captivity; in no case waiting for the remittance of Government funds, but promptly opening his purse — his own hand and house, to their comfort and relief.

ABOUT the time of the issue of Capt. Riley's Narrative, of his shipwreck and sufferings in Africa, much excitement was got up in Mogadore, (which was extended in some measure to this country,) in relation to certain parts of that publication. The charge of falsehood was freely made against the "Narrative," and some expressions were, by the *Jews* in Mogadore, declared to be libelous. Publications and communications to certain journals of the United States were made, to bring the "Narrative" into disrepute, and cast reproach upon Capt. Riley and those most conspicuous in its narrations.

Inasmuch as this feeling in opposition to Capt. Riley's statements was industriously — not to say *maliciously* — propagated through the American community, and in some measure operated against the popularity of Capt. Riley, and led to many surmises unfavorable to the veracity of his publication, it seems, consequently, both proper and important, in justice to Capt. Riley and Mr. Willshire, at this time and in this place, to expose the secret means and hidden reasons wherein this feeling originated, and for what purposes it was exhibited in that particular manner.

The statement in Capt. Riley's narrative most carped at, is in relation to a certain Mr. Leonardi, in Mogadore, in speaking of whom, the term "*sordid wretch*" is employed: with how much propriety, under *those circumstances*, can scarcely be made a ques-

tion, unless it be questioned under the ancient dogma of the law that "the greater the truth, the greater the libel."

To enable the present reader to judge of the reasonableness of the ill feeling and stalwart threats made against Capt. Riley, and the prejudice that was thereby and therefrom aroused against his publication, the paragraph, considered so exceptionable by the *honest* and *worthy* Israelites of Mogadore, and their European and American *compeers*, is copied here for perusal.

It is found on page 543 of the appendix to the "Narrative," and reads thus :

"I cannot omit to inform my readers that on the 1st of January, 1816, when in Mogadore, I went in company with Mr. Willshire to pay a complimentary visit to Don Estavan Leonardi, an old man, a Genoese by birth, who had lived a long time in Mogadore ; he has, as I was informed, exercised the functions of French Vice Consul there for a number of years. He received us with the compliments of the season, (new-year's day) ; congratulated me coldly on my redemption from slavery ; inquired some particulars, etc. After which, and when we had refreshed ourselves with a glass of wine, he told me that "about the years 1810-11, he received a long letter from Suse, brought to him by an Arab, written by a Frenchman. This stated that the writer and another Frenchman, whom he named, had escaped from a prison in Teneriffe a few weeks previously, where they had been long confined as prisoners of war ; that they stole an open boat in the night and set sail in the hope of escaping from the Spaniards, who had treated them with great harshness and cruelty ; that they steered to the eastward, expecting to land on the coast of Morocco, where they trusted they might regain their liberty, and get home through the aid of the French consuls ; that they made the coast of Suse, and landed a few leagues below Santa Cruz, or Agader, after great sufferings and hardships, where they were seized on as slaves, and stripped naked ; and the letter concluded by beg-

ging of him to ransom them, and thus save the lives of two unfortunate men, who must otherwise soon perish, etc., etc. But, (said Leonardi,) *I had no orders from the Consul General to expend money on account of his government!* and accordingly persuaded the Arab who brought the letter to stop with me a few days. His price was TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS for the two, and he was their sole proprietor. In the mean time I sent off a courier express for Tangier, for orders from the Consul General, who returned at the end of *thirty-five days!* with leave to pay *one hundred dollars* a man for them, but no other expenses. The Arab stayed fifteen days with me, and then *returned home in disgust!** He could not believe that I would ransom them, as I did not do it immediately.† When my express returned from Tangier, giving me leave to buy them, I sent a Jew down with money to pay their ransom; but when he came to their master he would not sell them at his former price, for he said he had found them to be mechanics, and demanded three hundred dollars for the two, or one hundred and fifty dollars each. The Jew said he saw the men; they were naked, hard at work, and appeared to be much exhausted, very miserable and dejected: he might have bought one for one hundred and fifty dollars, but would not, as he *had no orders to do so!* When the Jew was about to return, their master told him if he went away without the men, and the Consul wanted them, he must pay four hundred dollars for them. Now, on the Jew's arrival at Mogadore with this news, (continued Leonardi,) I sent off another express to Tangier, who brought back leave to pay the four hundred dollars, at the same time cautioned me not to make any further expenses on their account. I sent down the four hundred dollars to Suse again, and ordered the messenger to buy one if he could not get both; but their master said he had been played with and deceived until that time;

* Surely sufficient to "disgust" even an "Arab."

† Certainly a reasonable conclusion.

that if I wanted them I must pay *five hundred dollars*, and that he would then escort them up to Swearah, and be answerable for their safety until they arrived there, but he would not take the four hundred dollars, nor would he separate them; and so the messenger *returned without them*. The negotiation had already taken up near a year: I have expended (said he,) two hundred dollars that I shall never get again, and I suppose the men are dead, as I have not heard from them since." This, if not in the precise words, was the substance of what he said; and I could scarcely suppress the indignation I felt at this recital, nor avoid contrasting the behavior of this man with that of my noble friend Willshire. This old man is very rich; has no family but himself, and is one of the most zealous *Christians*, (?) in professions at least, in Barbary; but a *sordid wretch*, who never knew the pleasure arising from the consciousness of having done a good deed."

Such is the statement made in the Narrative; and certainly the conclusion with regard to the *sordidness* of the man, Leonardi, is neither unreasonable nor far-fetched.

It should also be premised that a certain Mr. John O'Sullivan, had then recently been appointed as consular agent of the U. S. at Mogadore, and what little mind he possessed was evidently filled with rancorous envy of Mr. Willshire's standing and popularity as a merchant and a gentleman. His popularity and standing so far overshadowed the position of the new consular dignitary, that he aimed to bring him down at least to his own level; and as he knew that the publication of Capt. Riley's narrative had contributed to the extension of Mr. Willshire's name to the commercial world, and his consequent standing and worth, he could devise no better method of clogging the reputation of Mr. Willshire than by an attack upon the veracity of Capt. Riley's statements. To effect this, he must excite the vindictiveness of the Jews and Moors in Mogadore, by false statements of the contents of the narrative; and must also bring into coöperation the exist-

ing jealousy of certain European merchants against Mr. Willshire, with a hope to procure his banishment from the empire of Morocco ; and thus, the now valuable trade of the port of Mogadore would fall into their hands by the removal of their faithful and fortunate rival in business, who conducted all the more valuable and important commercial transactions of that port. The attack, then, was, in fact, more an attack upon Mr. Willshire than upon Capt. Riley's narrative.

The methods, and motives, and the degree of success attending their machinations, will be made apparent from the following correspondence :

Mr. Willshire to Capt. Riley.

MOGADORE, Aug. 25, 1817.

Dear Sir : I have to inform you that a copy of your Narrative was brought by Mr. O'Sullivan, or by some person or persons belonging to his vessel, the "Sarah and Louisa," on the 12th ult., and lodged in that gentleman's house ; and I do verily believe, had not the brig "Triton," Capt. Stoddard, arrived from Gibraltar to my address, on the 1st inst., that the contents would not have been made public ; or the paragraphs, which have called forth so much enmity towards me, would not have been so industriously circulated. By the disappointment experienced by *two European houses*, in this city, on the occasion, I attribute the circumstance of their having thrown off all disguise, and to have determined not any longer to *seek* to be on good terms with me ; in the hopes, by one daring attempt or combination, to effect my destruction, or to wound my character so vitally, as to make it nearly an impossibility to rise superior to their evil machinations.

The enclosed copies of letters, which I received from Mr. O'Sullivan on the 13th inst., (and my answers in reply,) will

demonstrate the degree of inveteracy with which they attempted to make me a party to your Narrative.

I remain truly, dear sir,

Yours ever faithfully,

WM. WILLSHIRE.

JAMES RILEY, Esq.

Copies of Letters from Mr. O'Sullivan.

U. STATES CONSULATE,

Port of Mogadore, 13th Aug.

William Willshire, Esq.:

Sir,—I have to inform you that all the members composing the Body of Commerce, (yourself excepted,) await your attendance, at my house, on commercial business.

I remain, respectfully, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN O'SULLIVAN.

13th Aug. 1817.

John O'Sullivan, Esq.:

Sir,—In reply to your note, this moment received, informing me that all the members comprising the Body of Commerce, are awaiting my attendance at your house; and, not being acquainted with the purport of the meeting, I herewith beg to decline interfering in or being present on affairs of any nature which do not relate to myself.

I remain, respectfully, &c.

WILLIAM WILLSHIRE.

U. STATES CONSULATE,

Port of Mogadore, 18th Aug. 1817.

Wm. Willshire, Esq.:

Sir,—In answer to your note under this date, addressed to me,

I have to inform you that the nature of this meeting relates to you, as well as to other merchants of this place ; and if you do not attend, I am sorry to inform you, you will be considered, by the Body of Commerce, as an *accomplice in Capt. James Riley's Narrative*.

I remain, &c.

JOHN O'SULLIVAN.

John O'Sullivan, Esq. :

13th Aug. 1817.

Sir,—The note I am now called on to reply to, from the tenor of it, I suppose that I am to consider you as the *organ* of promulgating the sentiments of the Body of Commerce, met at your house. Whatever may be *your* sentiments, or of the gentlemen now assembled, on the subject of Capt. Riley's Narrative, I feel not the least interest ; nor do I regard the inferences you may choose to draw, from the circumstance of my not attending the meeting, and I have to request that you will cause the above to be explained to the Body of Commerce. And I beg to conclude, by observing here, that attempts to blast a fair and flourishing reputation, must be content with a *small dividend of additional fame*—so small, as can afford very little consolation, to balance the GUILT by which it is obtained !

I remain, &c.

WM. WILLSHIRE.

Mr. O'Sullivan wrote no more notes to Mr. Willshire ; and there is good reason to believe that he never laid the one, last above, before the Body of Commerce.

Mr. Willshire to Capt. Riley.

MOGADORE, Aug. 21, 1817.

My Dear Sir : I wrote you, via Gibraltar, on the 15th inst.,*

* This letter was not received by Capt. Riley.

informing you of the daring attempts which have been made, to make *me* answerable for the contents of your Narrative ; the particulars of which have been made public, both to Moors and Jews, by Christian residents of the town. I believe the embers of enmity would not have been fanned into life so soon, or so undisguisedly, had not the brig Triton, of Boston, by Gibraltar, arrived to my address on the 1st inst. Mr. O'Sullivan arrived here on the 12th ult. ; and although, at first, there was a little coolness between us, it passed over, and we were on terms of considerable intimacy. A copy of your Narrative was brought by his vessel ; and a few days afterwards, I heard that Mr. Antonio B. Cassaccia had read your work, and discovered that part relating to his uncle, Mr. *Leonardi*. I must here take the opportunity to remark, that on receiving your book and perusing it, I was fully convinced, that the circumstance of your having mentioned both Christian and Jew merchants, *by name*, some with disrespect, and others, on the contrary, respectfully, both your and my enemies would avail themselves of the occasion to vent their rage.

I enclosed a copy of letters I received from Mr. O'Sullivan, and of my answers, on the subject of my refusal to attend a meeting of the merchants respecting your narrative. On the 11th, a meeting was called on the subject, by the request of Mr. A. B. Casaccia, A. W. Court, and Guadalla & Co., at which, also, were present the American citizens then in port. I expressed my regret, that you should have drawn the inference you have, in the appendix, in regard to Mr. *Leonardi* ; and, in consequence, I was requested to sign a paper to falsify the character you have given him. As it was drawn up in very strong language, and included a threat, that some gentleman, who wishes, I believe, to *court** popularity, was engaged to make remarks on your book, to prove the most part of it to be false, I refused signing it. In a few min-

* Mr. A. W. Court ! one of the injured and "*respectable*" gentlemen, whose character will be shown by O'Sullivan's letter, *post*.

utes afterwards a second meeting was called, for the purpose, I have no doubt, of forcing me to sign the document, and the copy of the correspondence will show you the result!

I have it from very good authority, that the Jew and Christian merchants have empowered Mr. O'Sullivan, by bond and agreement, to prosecute you for a libel on *their character*! and have bound themselves to pay the expenses attending the prosecution. It is hinted, however, that should you retract, or suppress, in a future edition, the offensive paragraphs, and deliver up the author or authors *from whom you obtained your information*! that no prosecution will be instituted against you; but that Mr. O'Sullivan will return to this country with such information as he may obtain from you, and by a representation to his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Morocco, *should the authors of the alleged libel reside at this town*, to have them punished in a summary manner, or BANISHED THE COUNTRY!

No possible means have been left untried by the readers of Mr. O'Sullivan's copy of your narrative, to work upon the feelings of the Jew merchants, and, also, upon Moors of this town. You are represented (for they cannot read the English language,) as speaking in libelous terms of the Emperor, and of the Governor, and Moors in general! Fortunately *for me* and my *establishment*, the Governor had the sense to discover the *source* of their enmity, and, therefore, refused to support them in the steps to be pursued. Had they been able to obtain the support and countenance of the Governor, they would have carried it to the greatest possible length — nothing but *my banishment* from the country, would have satisfied their rage.

I am not determined in my own mind, whether Mr. O'Sullivan can appear in a court of law against you or not, as the affair does not affect him, but other persons, who do not understand the English language; and, therefore, I think that proof will be wanting to show that the passages in your book have been translated to

them *truly, and without exaggeration!* You may, in my opinion, treat every attack they may make against your character, with *contempt and derision!*

I remain, with every good wish for your welfare and success over your enemies, your most sincere friend,

WM. WILLSHIRE.

Capt. JAMES RILEY.

The following is a copy of the letter from O'Sullivan, referred to in the foregoing, in which he himself draws the character of Mr. A. W. Court, one of the "*respectable* merchants" with whom he subsequently conspired in the united attack upon Mr. Willshire and Capt. Riley, and who had been so much aggrieved and injured by animadversions upon the character of Jew and Christian merchants in Mogadore.

NEW YORK, December 2d, 1816.

Mr. W. WILLSHIRE:

Dear Sir: This serves to acquaint you of my arrival here, having touched at the Canaries, where I was near getting into difficulty, owing to the *rascally conduct* of *that villain Court*, who, from an OUTLAW, has turned *informer*, the worst of all characters! On my arrival at Palma, not knowing what had happened, I only entered four barrels of tobacco; shortly after, to my great astonishment, three custom house officers were put on board, as I thought, to sieze ship and cargo; but understanding enough of Spanish, I repaired below, and destroyed most all my papers, (which was very fortunate.) And when I was taken before the Governor and Collector of Customs, (who are gentlemen,) what should be shown me but that villainous letter, written by Court, though not in his name, but *Pedro*, which makes the matter much worse. Said letter enclosed one for the Captain General of Teneriffe, in case I should call there. In his letter he describes my ship, and says: "The Captain, under pretence of landing flour,

[which he, himself, put me up to when we *were intimate!*] will land tobacco put up in *flour barrels*," mentioning, by far, more than I had on board, and, also, that I intended *smuggling off money!*

Now what must any one think of such a character? Should he not be turned away from all society, and your place? (Mogadore.) The Collector said, had the villain called on him with such information, he would have been turned out by his orderly. But being written to, as also the Governor and Capt. General at Teneriffe, he *was obliged* to take notice of it. It made a great noise at Palma; so much so, had the villain been there at the time, or if he goes there hereafter, I would not answer for his life. Mr. William Court was ashamed to show himself all the time I was there; I dined at his friend's, where he was requested to meet, but his reply was that he was too much ashamed of his brother's conduct! For further particulars I refer you to *Riva*, etc.

If it is not violating your rules of meeting, I have to request you will call the Body of Commerce of Mogadore together, and let them know at my request, the *true character* of a man, whose conduct should not be hidden. I intend visiting Mogadore next spring, when, I assure you, I shall make him repent heartily! No doubt it will do him good!

Mrs. O'S. joins in kind remembrances, and requests you will accept apples, etc.

In much haste, I am, &c.,

JOHN O'SULLIVAN.*

Mr. Willshire to Capt. Riley.

MOGADORE, October 5, 1817.

My Dear Friend: The solitude and retirement of a Sunday

* Mr. O'Sullivan returned in "the spring" to be sure, and almost immediately thereafter associated himself with "the villain, A. W. Court," to overthrow Capt. Riley's veracity, and thus destroy *Mr. Willshire!*

are not only favorable to meditation, but also to communicating one's thoughts to a friend ; nor do I think any serious objection can be made by the strictest class of christians to so innocent an employment. With this view, I avail myself of a short hour to recall the image of my friend to my imagination ; and to retrace those pleasant hours I passed during your residence with me ; and immediately every circumstance presents itself, not alone with redoubled freshness, but with renewed delight.

In all my late communications I have not expressed the opinion I entertain of your Narrative, having been diverted from it by the unexpected disturbance and noise that have been made in this town by your enemies and mine, in consequence of its publication : made, not so much for the purpose of invalidating your work, or the truth of it, as to bring on me some unpleasant interference by this Government, and, if possible, to make it appear that I was the author of the paragraphs which they are pleased to call offensive, libelous and untrue, for the purpose of effecting my banishment from this country ! It must appear unaccountable to persons unacquainted with the nature and jealousy existing between the merchants of this place, why a combination should have been formed against me by the merchants in general. The solution is easy to be given to those who are not ignorant of the nature of the jealousy existing ; but to others unacquainted, it may not be sufficiently satisfactory ; and I must, therefore, be contented to suffer the obloquy they may succeed in affixing to my character. The solution may be stated in a few words.

1st. The principal part of the trade of this port is carried on with London, by native Jew merchants, and my establishment is the only obstacle to their enjoying *the whole* of the trade, and therefore, could they get rid of me, they would enjoy all the benefits and profits unmolested, and in their own way !

2d. The circumstance of my having entered into the American trade of this port, is the cause of my having to surmount and

bear the enmity of two European houses (out of three,) who call themselves American Commission Merchants. And

3d. The very high terms in which you have thought proper to mention my name in your Narrative, have increased those envious feelings to a degree that could no longer be restrained ; and by working on the feelings of the uneducated and ignorant Jews of this town, they succeeded in obtaining the support of the Jewish junta, with the hope of making me bow my head to their united attack.

I have again been diverted, unintentionally, from the object of this letter ; feeling myself injured, and the attempts made to traduce my character, have caused my pen to glide into defence of it. I, however, feel well assured that the gossamer web under which my character has been attacked, will soon be seen through, although supported by the authority and influence of Mr. O'Sullivan, in his capacity of champion to the Jewish junta of this town ! *

Should I have time I will write a few remarks on your Narrative in a separate letter.

I remain most sincerely, my dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. WILLSHIRE.

JAMES RILEY, Esq.

The following letter, from Mr. James Renshaw, of London, Mr. Willshire's partner in that city at that time, throws much light upon the proceedings of the Jewish junta in Mogadore, whose champions so vehemently declaimed against the veracity of Capt. Riley's statements :

James Renshaw to Capt. Riley.

LONDON, 4th Oct. 1817.

My Dear Sir : Your letter of 3d ultimo, came to hand on the

* Not a very honorable position for an American Consul to assume.

1st inst. I am much obliged to my worthy friend, Mr. Barber, for his kind remembrances of me. 'Tis true that I was the humble means of ransoming several of your fellow-citizens from slavery, and, I believe, one or two during the time he was at Mogadore. One of them was a Capt. Seaver, of New York; he remained in slavery upwards of twelve months, enduring every hardship and indignity. His friends applied to a Mr. Court [A. W. Court!] of Mogadore, who either could not, or *would* not send the money for his ransom. The mate, a Mr. Lee, of Boston, a kinsman of Mr. Sylvanus Gray of that city, was ransomed by me without delay. At last Mr. Seaver wrote to me,* in the most moving terms, and it was unfortunate for him that his owners increased in their demands, in proportion to the delay and to his sufferings. At that time there were two or three American ships at Mogadore, and I requested the Masters to ask Mr. Court whether he would, or would not, send the money for Mr. Seaver's ransom. He refused to send it. On his refusal, I despatched your friend, *Rais Bel Cossim*,† the very man of whom you speak (deservedly) so high, and in less than ten days Capt. Seaver was in the house of his *friend* (?) Mr. Court!

I am very happy to find that my partner and successor, Mr. Willshire, has been rewarded for his exertions, in the ransom of the crew of the "Surprize," of Glasgow, by the approbation of the Iron Mongers' Company of London, who have a fund for that truly charitable purpose. They have sent him an elegant piece of plate, with an appropriate inscription, which I am sure will afford Mr. Willshire more pleasure than would fifty times its value.

I was rather surprised to learn that he has been superceded, in the American agency at Mogadore, by a Mr. O'Sullivan, of whom

* Mr. Renshaw then resided at Mogadore.

† Rais Bel Cossim, was the same individual whom Mr. Willshire had employed in the redemption of Capt. Riley; he was a noble and trusty man, who had formed the strongest conceivable attachment to Capt. Riley, after his ransom.

I have heard, from several quarters, a *very indifferent character*. A few days ago I received a letter from Mr. Willshire, with an account, which probably he will have transmitted to you — for you are interested in it — of the *first act* of Mr. O'Sullivan in his new character. It appears that he took out a copy of your work, and translated, in the worst way, some passages wherein you spoke disrespectfully of *the natives!* and but for the proper interference of the Governor of Mogadore in Mr. Willshire's favor, he (O'Sullivan) would have brought the matter before a Moorish tribunal, charging Mr. Willshire with being an *accomplice!* But as you will have the full particulars from Mr. Willshire, I need not repeat them. But, what will your countrymen say, or think, when they learn that the first act of their newly-appointed Consul was to embroil with the Moorish Government, the man who had stretched forth his hand, and lavished his means, to redeem their fellow citizens from slavery and distress; and endeavor to make him amenable to Moorish laws! from which it was his duty to have protected him? — Though God forbid, that Mr. Willshire should require the protection of such a man!!

It is further stated, that you are to be prosecuted for a libel, for having spoken ill of some *Jews*; and for having said that some of the residents of Mogadore were "*formerly respectable*" — and that Mr. Sullivan (*O'Sullivan*, I beg his pardon) is to carry on a prosecution against you *per procuration!* For my own part, I think that, in your next edition, you may safely amend the offensive passage by saying that they were NOT formerly respectable! since one of them was sent out of this country (*England*) for a breach of trust; — another, after one or two most shameful bankruptcies, was OUTLAWED! But, lest I should furnish matter for a libel, which above all things I wish to avoid, I will say no more. However, these are the people with whom Mr. O'Sullivan has entered into a combination against poor Mr. Willshire!! And,

really, I do not envy the despicable figure they will cut, at least in the opinion of the more respectable part of your countrymen.

My friend, Mr. Green, the British Consul General at Tangier, has written a letter to Mr. Willshire, assuring him of his approbation of his conduct with respect to Mr. O'Sullivan, and his determination to protect him; also a letter of thanks to the Governor of Mogadore, for his proper conduct in Mr. Willshire's behalf: * for, although Mr. Willshire, of course, cannot be made answerable for what you have written in your work, yet in such a country, and *with such mischievously disposed people as Mr. O'Sullivan and those men* "FORMERLY RESPECTABLE!" the affair might have been attended with very unpleasant consequences; which no doubt was the intention of the combination!

I am, with every good wish, dear sir,

Your most ob't serv't,

JAS. RENSHAW.

Capt. JAMES RILEY.

In prosecution of the designs of the before mentioned Jewish junta, a concerted attack was made against Capt. Riley's narrative by anonymous communications and publications, through certain of the public journals of that period, and especially through the columns of the "National Advocate," in which Mr. O'Sullivan speaks of "*that villain, Court,*" as one of those "personally known to him as *respectable merchants*, and far from meriting such severe animadversions!"

The origin and hidden motives of these attacks being in a great measure unknown to the American community, many well meaning persons were constrained, by these attacks, to discredit various statements and conclusions made in Capt. Riley's work. And

* Mr. Willshire and Capt. Riley, by their united influence and example in 1839, nearly 20 years after, had the singular good fortune to aid their friend, the Governor of Mogadore, when at Morocco, at a time when an intrigue had brought him under the displeasure of the Emperor. See Narrative of visit to Morocco, *ante*.

even at this day, there are yet found lingerings of this incredulity, which has no better nor other foundation than the prejudices arrayed against the publication, by reason of the measures set on foot for the gratification of the feelings of invidiousness and malignity, entertained by certain uneducated *Jew merchants* in Mogadore, who had "*formerly been respectable,*" against Mr. Willshire, their rival in trade. And this combination against his own countrymen, to wound his veracity, and thus demolish his reputation, was headed and pandered to by an American Consul, as the first act in his official career as a representative of our government in Morocco ! What the finale of such a career must be with a government holding any respect for itself, may easily be conjectured, and will be hereafter expressed in Capt. Riley's reply to Mr. Renshaw.

Before that, however, it is proper to give the following from Mr. Willshire, more fully and explicitly detailing the nature of the combination, and the character of the persons directing the same.

Mr. Willshire to Capt. Riley.

MOGADORE, Feb. 28, 1818.

MY DEAR FRIEND : I wrote you on the 20th inst., by a vessel bound to Gibraltar, a partial copy of which I now enclose. This afternoon I was favored by receipt of your respected and esteemed favor of the 6th of December, containing an account of the base and vile attack inserted in the American papers respecting your narrative, calling in question your veracity, made by persons equally base, and devoid of every good principle, and whose characters are a disgrace to human nature ! I cannot, in words, sufficiently express the regret I experience at the present moment, in consequence of the impossibility of my visiting the United States ;* for, could I leave the business of my establish-

* Mr. Willshire, for some time previous, had had it in contemplation to visit the United States ; but at this time, in consequence of new business arrangements, it seems, he could not come.

ment, I would surely do it, for the pleasure I should enjoy in confounding your enemies, and who are not the less mine. In a country of free men, I could speak my sentiments without fear, and *relate facts that would astonish*, and call forth, from every citizen of the United States, a blush, and the *severest execrations on the person or persons who would be exposed thereby!* From my residence in this country, and the nature of the government, I am prevented from so imprudent a step, as I should be laying open all my interests to the merciless chicanery and malice of my enemies. I am, therefore, *forced* to forbearance; at the same time I most solemnly assure you of what I stated above, and pledge myself to make good my assertion, by affidavit or otherwise, whenever I may visit the United States.

I cannot help remarking how far Mr. O'Sullivan, Consul for the United States, appears to have overstepped that line of conduct, which, from the nature and intent of his situation, seems to be marked out for him, viz: the support and protection of the rights, character, and interests of American citizens; instead of which, I do not hesitate to affirm, that it was *through and at his instigation, aided by a malicious and an exaggerated translation of various paragraphs of your narrative, by his clerk, Mr. Foxcroft, that induced the Jew merchants to be parties to the affair; the purpose of which was to bring your work into disgrace and disrepute* — the accomplishment of which would have affected your character, and would have brought discredit generally on the nation of which you are a citizen.

I beg leave to hand you a copy of a letter written to me by Mr. O'Sullivan, dated New York, 2d December, 1816.* It will serve to show that gentleman's opinion of a *certain resident*, and how far it coincides with the tenor of the concluding paragraph of his letter to the National Advocate, inserted in that paper

* The same copied before, a copy of which had also been sent by the epistle, under date of August 21, 1817.

November 19. The paragraph runs thus : “ I hand them to you for publication, conceiving it the most effectual way of meeting the views of those concerned ; and I have only to add, that from my *personal experience* (what an appropriate word !) *and knowledge, the characters referred to by Capt. Riley in an exceptionable manner, are personally known to me as* RESPECTABLE MERCHANTS, *and far from meriting such severe animadversions ! ”* *

To minds unbiassed and open to natural conclusions, a question of considerable weight will present itself ; how comes it to pass that a *certain character* is included in the number of “ respectable merchants ” in contradiction to his own letter ? The solution of this question is only to be found in attributing it to a conspiracy, formed by the worst of characters, for the worst of purposes — to stab my reputation, which you in your gratitude for my poor services, have raised and made known to your countrymen by the publication of your Narrative.

This was the avowed object in view, and the main-spring of all their actions ; it was done to stop the sale and authenticity of your book, that my name might not become more public to the commercial world, for fear that the chance trade of this port might, through this means, be thrown into my hands, to their detriment.

I am not acquainted with the resources of Mr. O’Sullivan in America, whether they are ample or not ; on this point I should not have touched, but I think that I discover in the remarks of the editor of the National Advocate something like a positive assertion, and which I am led to believe must have originated from Mr. O’Sullivan, as in an impartial consideration of the matter in question, the editor would have steered clear of a circumstance that he was not acquainted with — that he could have no

* This seems to be a strange metamorphosis from “ that villain, Court, who, from an outlaw, had become an informer, the worst of all characters ! ” See O’Sullivan’s letter to Mr. Willshire, of December 2, 1816, ante.

means from which to form a judgment; and therefore the maliciousness of the assertion must have had its origin with Mr. O'Sullivan. By what means had the editor to judge of the extent of my resources.* I do not intend that you shall furnish the editor with a balance sheet of my affairs; it looks too much like a person on the brink of bankruptcy wishing to compound with his creditors.

As "facts are stubborn things," I cannot avoid informing you that a Spanish vessel that was made prize of by the schooner *Romp*, under the Spanish patriots' flag, and ordered to Buenos Ayres, was wrecked on this coast in May 1816, on board of which were three American citizens, whom I redeemed *last March*; but a Spaniard, one of the original crew, and who has made many applications to the agent here, yet remains in captivity, in the hands of the same Arabs from whom I purchased the release of George Hall. This most shameful delay is not to be attributed to the Spanish government, as orders, I know, have been transmitted to the agent to effect the poor man's redemption; why it has not been done, I leave to be explained by the party concerned. (This agent was one of those merchants "*formerly respectable!*")

I am fully of opinion that you have gone as far in your refutation of Mr. O'Sullivan and the Jewish junta's attack as you can, consistently with a due regard to your own character, or what the charges require. Your remarks on the character of Mr. Leonardi do not affect him as a merchant; his integrity and honor are not called in question. I may here observe that Mr. Leonardi did not leave this country until the 8th of August last: in *two days* after, started up the Junta in support of his character. By the term, "late of this port," I have no doubt but that it is gen-

* This is in allusion to an intimation against the pecuniary responsibility of Mr. Willshire, thrown out about the same time, and for the same end, i. e. the overthrow of Mr. Willshire's popularity.

erally supposed that he had been absent at least some few months. I have considerable reason to believe that he did not wish, nor was he privy, or acquainted with the steps that were, so soon after his departure, decided upon.

The letter calling the meeting on the 10th of August, was signed by A. B. Casaccia, A. W. Court, and Guidally & Co. I was not surprised at Mr. Casaccia's charges that he made, but I was at some loss to divine the nature of Mr. Court's complaint until I discovered that he was very much chagrined, and felt himself slighted by his name being mentioned in your narrative without the usual term of *Mister* before it! I expected that he would have attempted further explanations, but he knew it was dangerous before so many American citizens.

I have omitted to inform you that Elias Zagury,* last October, absconded from Gibraltar, after having cheated and swindled the merchants there out of 150,000 *hard dollars*! I beg the readers of your narrative to judge whether you have drawn the character of this youth in false colors; and yet you are to be prosecuted, per procuration, for *libels* on the character of the merchants of this port. O, righteous judges!!!

I cannot but admire the fine flow of language in the letter addressed by the merchants to Mr. O'Sullivan. I do not recollect to have read in any author such a *liquid* close as the following: "Publish such a statement to the world in general as may turn aside the blow — the assassin's blow! aimed at our *characters* — our responsibility, our integrity,* and the honor of our families!" The writer of this is well known. I observe that he has not forgotten the words "integrity and honor;" the substance of them, however, I am fearful he has long since been estranged from, and has refrained from acting up to, and that he is further out of his latitude, when he lays claim to "integrity and honor," than he is aware of.

* He was another of those merchants "formerly respectable," and known to Mr. O'Sullivan as such ' * Shades of Court and Zagury! what indignity!!

It is but justice to remark, that the Jews were only irritated to become parties to this affair by the false and malicious interpretation of certain passages in the narrative, which they were made to believe most seriously affected their characters. For, if otherwise, is it to be believed they would have stood forth as the mere assertors of the rectitude of Mr. Leonardi's character, and have agreed to pay their quota of any expenses that O'Sullivan might incur by prosecuting you for a libel? No, it was from a belief that they had been slandered by your publication, and which the documents furnished by Mr. O'Sullivan was to oblige you to recant. The documents do not allude to the interests of the Jew merchants, nor make mention of any reparation being expected from you on their account.

My interests and character were endangered by the conspiracy formed against me by the unprincipled conduct of one or two of the European merchants; the others, ignorant of the English language, were, by misrepresentation, drawn into the vortex, and a cabal formed against me, which evidently was more with the intention of harming my character, than yours. This is apparent from the high and commanding tone of Mr. O'Sullivan's letter to me on the 13th August, a copy of which I forwarded to you at that period—it concludes in the following terms: "And if you do not attend, (viz. the meeting) I am sorry to inform you, you will be considered, by the Body of Commerce, as an accomplice in Capt. Riley's Narrative!" I refused to attend, and returned an answer expressive of the contempt with which I viewed his conduct; at this he sent a message to the Governor of Mogadore, requesting that he might *force* my attendance. This step was equally futile.

I now conclude by affirming, that the above relation of the views and intentions of the conspirators, (for I know no other term equally appropriate,) is founded in truth; and if occasion calls for the same being verified by affidavit, I shall be perfectly willing so to do.

I remain with the most fervent wishes, that your exertions to expose the characters of the parties concerned in the vile attack made on your reputation, through the agency of O'Sullivan, may be crowned with complete success.

Your most faithful friend,

WM. WILLSHIRE.

Capt. JAMES RILEY.

The following letter from Capt. Riley to James Renshaw, in reply to his of Oct. 4, 1817, shows the result of Mr. O'Sullivan's *first act as a Consul of the United States* :

Capt. Riley to James Renshaw, Esq.

NEW YORK, May 5, 1818.

Dear Sir: Since yours of Oct. 4th, 1817, I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you. Your letter of that date, however, was of the greatest importance to me, as developing the character of sundry inhabitants of Mogadore, and especially John O'Sullivan. It also brought tears to my eyes, when I learned that my worthy benefactor, Mr. Willshire, had been rewarded for his goodness in redeeming the suffering crew, with public thanks, and a piece of plate with an appropriate inscription. When I received your letter I was in Washington, soliciting for Mr. Simpson some further remuneration for his long services, as I informed you in mine of March 2d, from that city. When I received yours, I laid a communication before the President, in which I stated the proceedings of John O'Sullivan, and handed in to him your letter at the same time; it fully corroborated my statements, and the effect was *instantaneous*! O'Sullivan's commission as U. S. Consul at Mogadore, was FORTHWITH REVOKED, and *he consigned to his former and merited insignificance*!

The President—Mr. Monroe—informed me that he had ordered a letter of thanks to Mr. Willshire, to be forwarded

through your Government, for the great service and the pure benevolence by him displayed, in redeeming me and my fellow-sufferers from the cruel bonds of slavery. He will of course be forthwith reinstated in his agency by Mr. Simpson, American Consul at Tangier; and would have been appointed a separate Consul at Mogadore, in Mr. O'Sullivan's stead, had it not been that he enjoyed an office under the English Government.

The President, at the same interview, requested me to say to you, that he returned you his personal thanks, for redeeming and succoring our distressed fellow-citizens; and assures me, that such humanity and benevolence cannot fail of meeting a high reward in the admiration of the world, and the esteem and friendship of all good men.

Our mutual friend, Mr. Barber, returns you his sincere thanks for your kind remembrances of him, and begs me to express to you his sentiments of high esteem for your many virtues.

* * * * *

Accept, dear sir, the sentiments of esteem and friendship I entertain for you, and my fervent wish that you may prosper in your enterprize, and believe that any service I can render you or yours, in this country, will be done with the most sincere satisfaction.

I am, with sentiments of unalterable gratitude,

Your most ob't serv't,

JAMES RILEY.

JAMES RENSHAW, Esq., London.

So ended Mr. O'Sullivan's attack, as champion of the Jewish junta, upon Capt. Riley and Mr. Willshire.

Some years afterwards, Mr. Willshire became the object of another conspiracy, originating among some of the Jewish subjects of the English crown.

In 1830, Mr. Willshire was on a visit to his friends in London, and while in that city was arrested and tried for a conspiracy against a Barbary Jew, named Delavanta; whom he had long employed in his family as a domestic.

This combination against him by certain Jews, like the one headed by John O'Sullivan, ended in the entire discomfiture of the conspirators.

The following report of the case is taken from the "London Times" newspaper, under date of April 26th, 1830 :

COURT OF KING'S BENCH — WESTMINSTER, April 24.

(*Sittings at Nisi Prius, before Lord Tenterden and Special Juries.*)

THE KING v. WILLSHIRE AND ANOTHER.

This was an indictment against Mr. William Willshire, a Barbary merchant, and late Vice Consul at Mogadore, and Archibald Robertson, his clerk or agent, for a conspiracy. The substance of the charge was, that the defendants had accused one Moses Delavanta, who had been in the service of the defendant Willshire, with being *particeps criminis*, with others of his domestic servants, in robbing him; that they had by threats, duress, and violence, compelled him to confess that he was guilty; that they took his confession in writing; and that, without his hearing it read, or knowing the contents of it, they compelled him to sign it, with the intent to make use of it at Mogadore, and to send him there to be punished for the supposed offence. The indictment, it appears, was preferred at the expense of Delavanta.

Mr. Gurney, Mr. Curwood, and Mr. Kelly, conducted the case for the prosecution; the Attorney General, Mr. Brodrick, and Mr. C. Phillips, were engaged for the defendants.

The investigation was very tedious, and as the facts disclosed in the progress of it turned out to be very different to what they had been represented in the opening statement, we here give them in one connected narrative. The prosecutor Delavanta, a Morocco

Jew boy, had been taken into the service of the defendant Willshire in the year 1825, and resided with him at Mogadore, at which place Mr. Willshire carried on the business of a merchant, and filled the office of British Vice Consul. Delavanta was employed as a domestic servant, with two others, natives of Mogadore, named Benatah and Sleemo. The defendant, Mr. Robertson, was a brother-in-law and confidential clerk of Mr. Willshire. In the month of February in the last year Mr. Willshire came to England with his wife and child, attended by Delavanta, who was his favorite servant. For some time before he left Mogadore, Mr. Willshire had reason to suspect that a system of plunder had been carried on at his premises, but he was unable to detect the thieves. On his return to England he was invited with his family to the house of his brother, Mr. James Willshire, at Hoxton, and there he took up his abode. He continued there until March, and then went to reside at Canonbury, and from thence, in July, he removed to Egham, Delavanta continuing with him, acting, as formerly, as a domestic servant, and being treated with great kindness and indulgence by the family.

After Mr. Willshire quitted Mogadore, Mr. Robertson took up his residence at the house there, and in a short time discovered that the system of plunder before alluded to, had been carried on by the servants of Mr. Willshire, Benatah and Sleemo, who had obtained access to the money in the counting-house by means of false keys, etc. Benatah avowed his guilt, and charged Sleemo with having shared in the thefts. Sleemo denied all participation in, or knowledge of the plunder, but they were both sent to prison. Offers were then made on the part of Sleemo to compromise the offence, by payment of a sum of money, which is allowed by the laws in Barbary, but the sum offered being, as compared with the amount of property purloined, too insignificant to accept, the proposal of compromise was rejected, and Sleemo was kept in prison. Mr. Robertson, however, having reason to

think that he might procure his discharge without punishment or restitution of the money stolen, informed the governor that he should make the affair known to the Emperor of Morocco. The object of this was to ascertain whether the offer of compromise on the part of Sleemo would be increased, and proper terms arranged. Some time afterwards, Mr. Robertson was informed that, by the Emperor's orders, Benatah's hand had been cut off for the offence with which he had been charged, and that he had since died. Sleemo was liberated. While Mr. Willshire was residing at Egham, he received a communication from Mr. Robertson, from which he learnt what had been going on at Mogadore, and he had reason to suspect that Delavanta was implicated in the various thefts.

In the course of the month of September he removed, with his family, from Egham, and went to reside in Conduit-street. On the 13th of that month Mr. Robertson arrived in England from Mogadore, and took up his abode at the house of Mr. Willshire's brother, Mr. James Willshire, who had married his (Mr. Robertson's) sister. A few days after Mr. Robertson's arrival, viz. on the 19th of September, Mr. Willshire had occasion to go to his brother's house, and took with him his servant Delavanta, for the purpose of bringing back some wearing apparel and other articles. On going there he met Mr. Robertson, who communicated to him what had taken place at Mogadore respecting the robbery, and the confession on the part of Benatah. This was about 11 o'clock in the forenoon. The premises occupied by Mr. James Willshire, the brother, at Hoxton, consisted of a private residence, and a house opposite which was used for boarding the parish poor, Mr. James Willshire being the farmer of the paupers of upward of forty parishes in the metropolis. While the defendant, Mr. Willshire, was at his brother's house on the day in question, (19th September,) Delavanta, hearing from the servants that Mr. Robertson was in the counting-house at the farm-house,

went there to inquire of him after his old friends at Mogadore, and Mr. Willshire having, at Mr. Robertson's desire, come into the counting-house, Mr. Robertson disclosed to Delavanta what had occurred at Mogadore. He informed him that Benatah had been detected and punished; that Sleemo was liable to punishment; and that strong suspicions were entertained against him, Delavanta. Mr. Willshire then urged him to confess to all he knew of the various thefts, and told him, that if he did so, he should not be punished. He then made the confession in question. He went back with his master, Mr. Willshire, to his house in Conduit-st., and continued living with him until the 28th of September. On that day, having obtained leave to go to the Synagogue to celebrate the Jewish new year's festival, he left Mr. Willshire's house at an early hour, and did not again return. A day or two afterwards, having been shortly after his visit to the synagogue introduced to Mr. Isaacs, an attorney, he made a complaint before the magistrates, at Bow-street, to the effect that Mr. Willshire and Mr. Robertson had obtained the confession from him by means of threats and intimidation, and that he did not at the time of signing it know of its contents. The defendant, having seen in the papers an account of the application at Bow-street, went before the magistrates and gave a contradiction to that part of Delavanta's statement which went to show that the confession had been extorted from him under a threat of punishment in case of his refusal to make the disclosure. The magistrates, after hearing the statements of both parties, ordered the defendants to find bail in 500*l.* each, with sureties in 250*l.* each. The present indictment was afterwards preferred at the sessions, from whence it was removed by *certiorari*, at the instance of the defendants, into this court.

The above appeared to be the principal facts of the case. Delavanta and his counsel, however, attempted to give a coloring to the transaction by calling the establishment at Hoxton a lunatic

asylum. Delavanta's statement, given in Arabic, through the medium of an interpreter, was curious and amusing. He stated that his master (Mr. Willshire,) took him to his house at Hoxton, and introduced him into a room there, where he found Mr. Robertson, who he did not before know was in England. He asked Mr. Robertson how Benatah and Sleemo and his friends were? Mr. Robertson told him that Sleemo was in his shop, and was very well, and Benatah was also very well. Mr. Willshire then came to the door and spoke to an old woman, who went away. Then Mr. Willshire locked the door. Robertson went to it, and Mr. Willshire proceeded to question him on the subject of the thefts at Mogadore. "Do you know of Benatah's robbing me?" said Mr. Willshire. I replied, "I know nothing about it." They then told me that Benatah's hands had been cut off, and that Sleemo was in prison, and was going to have his hands cut off also. They said, "And you, too, shall have the same, if you don't tell what you know about the robberies." Mr. Willshire said, "We will have you killed here: this is the house of my brother, and if I kill you here, nobody will know anything about it." (Laughter.) I said, "I know nothing about it." Mr. Willshire then took up a paper and said, "I am going to write in this paper, and if you don't confess, I and my friend here will kill you." I said, "I know nothing of what you accuse me, but write what you like, and I'll say yes." Mr. Willshire wrote, and Robertson stood by the door. I don't know what was written in the paper. I did not want to sign it till they were almost going to kill me. They took me by the collar and made me sign it by main force. As soon as I had signed it they opened the door, and I came out.

Cross-examined by the Attorney General, (who asked him, through the interpreter, whether he understood English, and he swore he did not.) Whilst we were together an elderly lady came into the room. I signed the paper by main force. When I

signed it, Mr. Willshire told me not to tell any thing, either to Mrs. Willshire or any body else. It was not read over to me—not a word. I have since lived in the house of Abo Ahbot, in Castle-street, Duke's-place, near the synagogue. I act in the shop. When I told Mr. Sadi Ombark Benby about the paper, he told Abo Ahbot to go to law directly, as these things don't pass in this country. Abo Ahbot took me to Mr. Isaacs, the attorney.

The Attorney General.—Who was it that published an account in the *Morning Chronicle* newspaper, before you went before the justices?

Answer.—The Attorney General. (Great laughter.)

The interpreter explained, that by "Attorney General," the witness meant the "Attorney." He then stated, that Mr. Isaacs got the account inserted in the *Morning Chronicle*. An interview afterwards took place at the counting-house of Mr. Macnins between witness, Mr. Willshire, and Mr. Benby, and when Mr. Willshire found that an account had been published in the newspaper, he refused to pay witness his wages: he told him he would not pay a farthing. An application was then made before the magistrates at Bow-street. The witness swore positively that he did not tell Mr. Ombark Benby that the confession he signed was true.

Edward Edmonds stated, that he was a reporter, and occasionally attended at Bow-street office for the *Morning Chronicle* newspaper. He was present when Delavanta made his complaint against the defendants. Witness gave a report of the statement to the *Morning Chronicle*. The defendants attended on the following day, and Delavanta made the statement again through an interpreter.

The Attorney General put into the witness's hand the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 30th of September, containing a statement of the case prior to the application at Bow street. Did you compose that account?

The witness looked at the paper for two or three minutes.

The Attorney General. — Well, did you write it?

Witness (with some hesitation). — I did.

Who communicated it to you? — A gentleman whom I saw at the office.

What gentleman, — tell us his name? — A gentleman who is in the habit of attending professionally at Bow street.

Well, what is his name? — I really don't know his name.

Is he a friend of Mr. Isaacs, the attorney? — I believe he is.

Is he a clerk? — Yes, I believe he is; I have seen him with Mr. Isaacs.

Lord Tenterden. — This is how things get into the newspapers.

The Attorney General. — Is his name James Isaacs?

Witness. — I believe it is.

The Attorney General. — James Isaacs, the brother of Isaacs, the attorney? Have you any doubt about it?

Witness. — I have none.

The confession was here put in and read. It is rather long, but it is somewhat curious, and as a good deal of observation was made as to the improbability of such a document, so circumstantial in its details, being concocted by the defendants from their own invention, at the meeting between them and Delavanta, we give it *verbatim* :

“Muisa ben Shuky* declares that Sleemo ben Frija, servant to Mr. Willshire, at Mogadore, had in his possession a key which opened the iron chest, and he believes the same was made by Behu ben Mordecai ben Hassan, and that Jacob Benatah, cook in the service of Mr. Willshire, had a key which opened the counting-house door, and on several occasions when Mr. Willshire, Mr. Juppers, and Mr. Robertson were gone out, he was present when Sleemo and Jacob opened the counting-house door and robbed the iron chest, on which occasions the said Sleemo and

* The prosecutor (Delavanta), it appears, has different sets of names.

Jacob sometimes gave him 20, 30, or 40 ounces as his share of what they had plundered. That he was servant in the house for ten months before he discovered that Sleemo and Jacob were in the habit of robbing the house. That on one Saturday afternoon, when every one had left the house, he, by chance, returned to the house, when he found Sleemo standing at the street door, and asked him what he did there. He went up stairs, when he found Jacob counting fluce on the kitchen table, and charging them with robbing the counting-house, they told him to hold his tongue and they would give him a share. That on various occasions he used to accompany Mr. Willshire into the country. When he returned, the said Sleemo and Jacob sometimes gave him money, and on some occasions they would declare they had not been able (*more sibe keef*) to rob. That on one occasion they brought a piece of long cloth, two pieces of cotton handkerchiefs, and one piece of silk handkerchiefs, which they sold, and divided the money between them, except the piece of long cloths, which was divided; and which is in the possession of the daughter of Isak ben Azida, his intended bride; and further declares that he left in her possession a pair of gold earrings with false stones, bought from Mordecai El Delal, for 28 ducats; a pair of silver bracelets, bought of Mordecai El Delal for 10 ducats; a mahoari, or frontlet of pearls, bought of Sleemo ben Frija, for 16 ducats; also, 2-8ths of an ounce of pearls bought for 15, and the other for 12; also, an ifslule of silk and gold thread, bought from a Jew of Azamoor, for 11 dollars; also, a pair of dua, or earrings of silver, given to him by his father; also, a bournouse, or cloak, bought of Mordecai El Delal, for 10 ducats; also, four silk handkerchiefs, bought for 55½ ounces; also, six cups and saucers, bought for 15; and, also, a pewter tea-pot, bought of Mr. Chaillit, and three small decanters, bought for 15; also, a mahogany tea table, bought at the sale of Mr. Court's effects by his father; and, also, a japanned tea-tray, bought for 12 ounces; also, a gilt glass decanter and six wine glasses, which cost 16 ounces; and, further,

that on three occasions he was present when Sleemo and Jacob opened the goods' room, and brought out a quantity of tea in a kitchen towel, which they divided. That he has in the hands of Mercloof ben Azeda 10 ducats employed in a ship for sale of lotter,—viz: spices, cotton, &c. He does hereby most solemnly declare the whole of the above to be truth, and that he is willing to swear to the same in the most solemn manner, whenever required."

Sleemo was the next witness examined. He stated that he had been in the service of Mr. Willshire, and that Robertson, after Mr. Willshire left Mogadore, caused him to be apprehended and placed in custody. He did not know what for. Mr. Robertson told him that he was going to England; that he should there see Delavanta, and would make him confess to the robberies, and that both of them should share the same fate as had befallen Benatah.

The Attorney General, in commencing his address to the jury on the part of the defendants, observed, that this was the first time within his recollection that an individual had been accused of extorting a confession of robbery and brought to answer the charge upon the sole unsupported testimony of the party who had signed his name to the written confession made. Such a proceeding, adopted upon the advice of some "cunning little Isaac," an attorney, might upon this, and all future occasions, be a very compendious expedient for preventing the use of a confession against an individual, while it would at the same time be a mode of endeavoring to extort money from the party against whom it was adopted. The proceeding was, undoubtedly, quite novel, quite original, and it lost none of its novelty or originality by the circumstance that the only person brought forward to confirm the testimony of the accuser, was the very party who was charged as the participator with him in the thefts of which he had confessed himself to be guilty. This was the person who had been brought forward to grace the cause! The learned counsel, after paying

a high tribute to the humanity of Mr. Willshire, who had distinguished himself while filling the office of British Vice-Consul at Mogadore, in redeeming Captain Riley and several American seamen from slavery, and restoring them to their liberty, proceeded to narrate the circumstances which had led to these proceedings, and the facts which he proposed to give in evidence before the jury. He commented in strong terms on the conduct of Mr. Isaacs, the attorney, and characterized the prosecution as an attempt to extort money from Mr. Willshire. He was sorry to find that there were persons connected with the press who were willing to lend themselves to such purposes. Nothing was more improper, or more calculated to prejudice the magistrates, and inflame the public mind against the defendants, than the article published in the *Morning Chronicle* on the day before the application at Bow street was made.

The learned counsel then read the paragraph from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 30th of September. It was headed "Extraordinary arrest and false imprisonment;" and after stating that Benatah had been caught in the act of robbing Mr. Willshire, and that Delavanta had "absconded and escaped to England," went on to say that he was "discovered in this country" by an agent of Mr. Willshire, residing in London, "and he was seized and conveyed to a lunatic asylum at Hoxton, where he was confined four days, and then effected his escape!" "He applied to a solicitor, who, on hearing his narrative of the facts, determined to prosecute the parties for an assault and false imprisonment." This, the learned counsel observed, was published to give Mr. Willshire a specimen of what he might expect if he did not comply with the demands which were to be made upon him. After this the application was made to the magistrates at Bow street, and he (the Attorney General) wished he could say that all that passed on that occasion had been truly represented in the *Morning Chronicle*. If it had, all he could say was, that it differed very

materially from what appeared in the other papers. It was clear that the boy Delavanta had fallen into the hands of persons who intended to make what was called "a good thing" of this business. The jury would see the course of proceeding that had been adopted. Delavanta gets out of his master's house, and goes to the synagogue ; he there falls in with some persons who introduce him to Mr. Isaacs, the attorney ; then comes the newspaper account, and then the application at Bow street ; and if Mr. Willshire had not had nerve sufficient to resist these attempts, he might have been induced to come down with at least 500*l.* by way of compromise. The learned counsel submitted to the jury, that the confession which Delavanta had signed contained such a variety of circumstances, so minutely detailed, that it bore the stamp of verity upon the face of it. It was impossible that such a paper could have been prepared but from the lips of Delavanta himself. It could not be believed that it had been extorted from him. There was no assignable motive for the adoption of such a course ; besides, the paper could not be made use of at Mogadore, as the law there required that a written confession, to be given in evidence against a party, must be made before two notaries and signed by them, and it was unavailing if made merely to a private individual. The learned counsel went on to say, that he should prove that Delavanta, although he had denied to-day that he understood the English language, was sufficiently acquainted with it to understand ordinary questions, and was able to make himself understood by others. He should prove, too, that the confession was twice read over to him — once in English, and once in Arabic — before he signed it, and he declared that he perfectly understood it. He should also be able to prove, that while the conversation was going on in the counting-house, a female servant opened the door to look at the clock, which is kept for the purpose of regulating the preparations for dinner, &c. She would state that the door was not locked ; and Mr. James Willshire would speak

to the same fact, he having come to the counting-house while the parties were there. Mr. James Willshire would also state, that he saw no difference in Delavanta from his usual appearance ; and that he was not at all terrified or agitated. Mr. Ombark Benby, too, would prove that Delavanta admitted to him that the confession he had signed was true. When these facts had been laid before the jury, and Delavanta's statement thus contradicted, he was sure the jury would feel a satisfaction in acquitting the defendants, of whose high character for humanity and honorable feeling he would give them the most unquestionable proofs.

Mr. James Willshire. — I am the brother of Mr. William Willshire, and brother-in-law of Mr. Robertson. I am the proprietor of a house at Hoxton for the boarding of paupers belonging to different parishes in the city of London. There are about 300 there. None of them are lunatics. The house is not licensed for the reception of lunatics. My dwelling house is exactly opposite to the farm-house. The witness then proceeded to detail some of the facts which we have already stated, and then continued thus : — On Saturday, the 19th of September, my brother came to my private house with Delavanta. There were some clothes and a pair of boots which he (Delavanta) was to take back. Delavanta went into the kitchen. I remained with my brother a short time, and afterwards went out. On coming in, I went into the counting-house, where Mr. Robertson was. While I was there Delavanta came in. I went out, and left them there. There is a clock in the counting-house to regulate the arrangements of the establishment. The door is always kept unlocked. I went into the city about 11 o'clock, and returned about one. When I came back I opened the counting-house door. I found there my brother, Mr. Robertson, and Delavanta. Delavanta showed no appearance of agitation or alarm. There was no difference from his usual appearance. He was sitting on a chair by the window. My brother folded up a paper which he had in

his hand, and told Delavanta to go for his umbrella. He went to the house for it, and then he and my brother walked away together, Delavanta carrying a bundle and pair of boots. He understands English. He used to bring messages to me in English from my brother. It is my belief that he understands every thing that is now going on.

Mr. Willshire, a common councilman of the city of London, stated that he was the father of Mr. Wm. Willshire, the defendant, who had resided at Mogadore for 15 years. He had filled the office of British Vice Consul about 12 years. Witness had been in the habit of receiving messages from his son through Delavanta, who never spoke any thing but English.

Miss Susan Greig confirmed the testimony of the other witnesses as to Delavanta's understanding English, and being able to make himself understood by others.

The Attorney General was about to call several other witnesses, but

Lord Tenterden interposed, and put it to Mr. Gurney whether it was of any use to go on after this contradiction of Delavanta's testimony.

Mr. Gurney was unwilling to press the case, and

The Jury, under the directions of the learned Judge, immediately pronounced the defendants *not guilty*.

Lord Tenterden said, he hoped that what had occurred in this case would make people cautious in giving credit to *exparte* statements in newspapers.

The concluding, well-timed remark of Lord Tenterden, in relation to "giving credit to *exparte* statements in newspapers," is certainly *judicious*, as well as *judicial*.

It will be remembered by the intelligent reader that the Moor, named *Rais Bel Cossim*, was the bearer of Mr. Willshire's letter to Capt. Riley and his companions when in captivity on the desert, which gave them some reasonable hopes of redemption, and afforded a gleam of joy which none can know without being placed in similar circumstances. At this time, Rais Bel Cossim seems to have enjoyed the entire confidence of Mr. Willshire in relation to the management of Capt. Riley's redemption; and full well did this noble Moor justify the confidence reposed in his integrity and sagacity: for by his skillful and sagacious management, he brought about the redemption of Capt. Riley and his companions, by circumventing the machinations set on foot and instigated by the malice and avarice of Sheick Ali. From this time he became and continued the great admirer and firm friend of Capt. Riley; and from his superior intelligence and sagacity, as well as his unbending integrity, he was frequently employed on similar missions of mercy and benevolence, both by Mr. Renshaw and Mr. Willshire. This individual was frequently mentioned by Capt. Riley and Mr. Willshire in their correspondence.

Mr. Willshire writing under date of February 20, 1818, thus mentions him to Capt. Riley:

"Rais Bel Cossim, who is present at this moment, begs to be remembered to you, with all the earnestness natural to him. He is a worthy man, and has your interest so much at heart, that he quarrels with every person who dares to mention your name in any wise disrespectfully."

He died very suddenly on the 30th of June, 1825. Mr. Willshire writing under date of August 5th, 1825, thus mentions his decease to Capt. Riley:

"By the Boston and other newspapers, you will most probably hear of the death of your liberator, *Rais Bel Cossim*. On the

30th of June, having been taken suddenly unwell, after the prayers at sunset; on leaving the mosque he complained of being ill: he went home, and in the short space of an hour *he was a corpse!* He was most highly esteemed, and bore a good character; his loss was much regretted." And he adds, what may not be without interest: "I acquainted you in a former letter of the death of *Mr. Court* on the 2d of April last, leaving his wife and daughter in a very unpleasant situation. I have, however, succeeded in settling their affairs, and in a few days they will embark for Gibraltar."

This kindness of conduct and feeling in Mr. Willshire towards the surviving family of the man who, by the instigation of others, had attempted to injure his reputation, shows more clearly than a thousand eulogies, the purity and benevolence of his heart: that could thus retain and foster the finest feelings of humanity, though dwelling among a barbarous people.

AFTER Capt. Riley's return from captivity in Africa, and the publication of his narrative, he was honored by receiving an Honorary Membership of the New York Historical Society, as appears from the following communication:

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

New York, 10th Dec. 1817.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that at a meeting of the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, held on the ninth day of De-

cember, inst., you were elected an *Honorary Member* of that Institution.

By order of the society,

JOHN W. FRANCIS,

Corresponding Sec.

Capt. JAMES RILEY.

Samuel L. Mitchell, M. D., to Capt. Riley.

NEW YORK, 10th April, 1817.

Sir : Having perused, with uncommon interest, the book which contains the narrative of the hardships endured by yourself and associates, during your shipwreck and slavery in Africa, I have the pleasure of tendering you my acknowledgements for the entertainment and instruction received.

As a personal history, it ranks among the most engaging of the compositions of that class. But when considered as the record of facts and events, in a great measure new to Americans and Europeans, on the geography and geology of Africa, on the manners of the *Ishmaelites* inhabiting the Zahara, and on various subjects of natural history, your publication rises to a higher grade of importance. Your cautions to mariners navigating the Atlantic ocean will always be considered with respect. The account you have given of the Arabs, living in primeval simplicity, proud independence, and in uninterrupted health almost to a patriarchal longevity, is at once a curious and beautiful delineation of society ; the description of the mode of traveling and trading across the Great Desert, fills the mind with novelty and surprise.

When we consider what a scanty portion of food sustains the

rover and his dromedary, it is our duty to be thankful for the abundance which we are permitted to enjoy.

Of thy friend at Mogadore, who so generously redeemed yourself and your companions, there is but one opinion among mankind — *that he is an ornament, and an honor to human nature!*

I heartily wish you the consideration and comfort to be derived from the extensive circulation of your book; and I beg you to accept my friendly salutation.

SAMUEL L. MITCHELL.

To Capt. JAMES RILEY.

AMONG numerous communications from scientific and literary individuals and societies from various quarters, similar to the foregoing, Capt. Riley was scarcely less gratified by the receipt of different epistles from persons "all unknown to fame."

As a specimen of such, the following honest and cordial, yet unvarnished letters from a worthy friend in the South, may properly be introduced to show that while Capt. Riley's book afforded a work of interest and instruction to the learned and scientific, it none the less reached the sensibilities and awakened the interest and sympathies of the unlearned reader.

Mr. C. Barnett to Capt. Riley.

FLAT ROCK, North Carolina, Feb'y 2, 1835.

Capt. JAMES RILEY :

Dear Sir : I take my pen in hand to address you, though a gentleman I have never had the pleasure of an acquaintance with, and not so much as to see him. I have read your narrative

through and through, of your shipwreck, of your captivity among the wild Arabs, and of your sufferings whilst with them, and of your redemption, &c., and of five of your unfortunate crew ; and it appears that there are yet several more in barbarian captivity. I have a particular wish to know whether any more of the crew have been redeemed since poor Archibald Robbins was ; if any, what were their names, &c.

Every time I read of your sufferings, I feel as if I would be willing to shoulder my gun, to go and seek redress of them Arabs. I have your narrative in my house, and scarcely a night passes over my head, but what I read till 9 or 10 o'clock ; and, after I go to bed, meditate till midnight. I have thought if I could be with you, and hear you relate over some of your incidents whilst in captivity, it would be the happiest hours to me on earth. As I have no account of you since your narrative came to hand, I have a particular anxiety to hear from you — how you are doing, your family, &c.; and whether those incidents keep fresh in your memory, and whether you have taken any voyages at sea since you returned to the United States ?

I do sincerely request you, on the receipt of this letter, to write me an answer — and I hope I shall not plead in vain — giving me an account whether any more of your men have been redeemed, or no, and many other particulars relating to your shipwreck. Perhaps you may think I am intruding on you ; but believe me, dear friend, when I say your company would be the greatest pleasure to me on earth.

I feel as though I had almost as great a wish to receive a line from you, as you had when you wrote by Sidi Hamet, to Mogadore. Believe me, my very dear sir, to be your most sincere friend, and most obedient servant,

C. BARNETT.

Capt. JAMES RILEY.

To this, Capt. Riley duly replied, as was requested, much to

the gratification of the worthy correspondent, who subsequently addressed another communication to Capt. Riley. Taking some liberties with the orthography, it is otherwise given verbatim :

FLAT ROCK, North Carolina, June 23, 1838.

Capt. JAMES RILEY :

Dear Friend : At this leisure moment I take my pen in hand, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th March, 1835, in answer to mine. And permit me to say that your favor answered all my inquiries, beyond my expectations ; and tongue cannot express the heartfelt satisfaction I enjoyed, when I broke the seal and found the signature of JAMES RILEY ! And when I perused your letter through and through again, it gave me more and more pleasure ; not on account of your misfortunes — God forbid ! — but to find that you are well, and that your dear wife and children were well. It seems to me, my dear friend, that you ought never to take to sea-faring life. You have met with such misfortunes, and was separated from civilized life and from a tender companion so long among those cursed Arabs, that you should remain with your family and friends the remainder of your days. I don't see how Mrs. Riley can bear to see you start to take one of those voyages ! If it was me, I should never expect to see you again. There are so many misfortunes happen on sea, that I really feel, if it was your pleasure, that you would never attempt it any more ; it certainly must be a disagreeable business. A man is compelled to be so long from his family and friends. Poor Mr. Hogan, Barret, and Mr. Williams, and Richard — unfortunate fellows ! How happy I would be to hear of their redemption and return amongst their friends again. But I much fear they will never be heard from more, for they cannot possibly be alive. They must, long since, have sunk under the load of oppression laid on them by those barbarians, the Arabs !

After I read your letter, I made known to some of my friends

that I had received a letter from under your hand. Some could *hardly possibly* believe it at first; they allowed that you could not possibly be a living. A great many feeling friends came a distance to hear it read, and all expressed themselves well satisfied, and sympathised in your misfortunes. You stated you expected to set sail again in April. I would be quite happy to have heard how you came out that trip. I should have wrote immediately after receiving your letter, had it not been that you would be on your way. I sincerely hope that these lines may find you by your fireside, at home with your family.

I will always take pride and delight in hearing from you, and how you are getting along in the world. If it should ever so happen that I should be in one hundred miles of you, I would come to see you, just for the pleasure of taking you by the hand and making up an acquaintance, and having a *week's conversation*. Nothing on earth could give me more pleasure: it would be worth all the writing that could be done. When you write again, let me hear from poor Robbins, and the rest *that is living*. It will give me pleasure to hear from them, and how they are doing.

I must close. Give my respects to Mrs. Riley and daughter, and believe me to be, with respect,

Your obedient servant and friend,

C. BARNETT.

Capt. JAMES RILEY.

P. S. I have a wife and seven children. I am 38 years old the 29th of October coming. C. B.

P. S. My father and mother are living. I have four brothers and two sisters; all grown and married, except one brother.

C. B.

The following is another specimen of the various communications addressed to him from all quarters:

VARENNES, South Carolina, 15th Feb. 1822.

Sir : A copy of your narrative was sent to me, by my then living brother, Samuel Brown, from Charleston, and has been by me read through two or three times, many parts of which excited my sympathy, and others my admiration ; but nothing attracted my attention so much as the honorable conduct of *Sidi Hamet* towards you throughout, in so much that I have named *my youngest son after him !* a fine thriving boy, now upwards of two years old, an account of which I wrote you, with a request that you would send me an answer representing more particularly the person of Sidi Hamet, his age, &c. The same is now herewith requested again ; that letter I suppose you have never received, as it was directed to your former residence in Connecticut, from which place, I am since informed, you have removed. A report is circulated that Sidi Hamet was slain in battle, since you parted with him at Mogadore. What you may know of this, you will please acquaint me with, and other things. Direct your letter to Elijah Brown, Esq., S. C., Pendleton District, Varennes Post Office.

I will not say that all dreams may be relied on, but many have been so realized in the event, as to leave no doubt, on my mind, of their accomplishment in many instances. It has been so with me, as it was with you and Mr. Willshire. As you proceeded through the desert to Swearah, I dwell with pleasure on such places as the spring of water ; a running brook of fresh water ; the barley straw on which you slept for the first time with any kind of comfort ; the hilly country, where you again discovered the browsing sheep, goats, cows, and persons following their respective avocations ; the first rain that fell ; but above all, the arrival of the letter from Mr. Willshire, by *Rais Bel Cossim*. I believe that gave you the first fair and agreeable prospect of liberty and freedom, and which *Sheick Ali* industriously endeavored to prevent ; your adventure in the night, meeting persons unknown, you

hailed the name of "Sidi Hamet," who made the agreeable reply of "*ascoon Riley*" — (is it you, Riley ;) your arrival at Mogadore ; the meeting with Mr. Willshire ; the flag of the United States waving on the mast of an American vessel, was the fruits of all, and the summit of all you wished for at that time !

Your compliance herewith, will answer and oblige,

Sir, your most obedient friend,

E. BROWN.

Capt. JAMES RILEY.

P. S. When you write, let me know respecting what has become of the remaining persons of the crew that you left behind in Africa.

P. S. Give my respects to your wife and children, to Mr. Savage, Horace, &c., &c.

P. S. *Rais Bel Cossim* was a clever fellow, too, and did you much service.

E. B.

CAPT. RILEY was a sufferer by the French spoliation of our commerce ; and as such, petitioned the U. S. Congress for indemnity for his losses from that source, under the action of the French Convention on that subject. His petition, presented to Congress, is, in itself, interesting as a statement of facts, that serve to illustrate, in some measure, the concurrent history of that negotiation.

CAPT. RILEY'S PETITION TO CONGRESS,
*On the subject of French Spoliation, on behalf of himself and
 Mrs. Mary Watson, widow of James Watson.*

To the Honorable the Senate and

House of Representatives of the U. S. in Congress assembled :

This representation and petition of JAMES RILEY, late master of

the ship "*Two Marys*," in behalf of himself and of Mrs. Mary Watson, (widow of the late James Watson, jun., owner of the said ship,) humbly sheweth —

That the unarmed merchant ship "*Two Marys*," of New York, was loaded at that port with a full freight and cargo belonging to citizens of the United States; was regularly cleared at the custom house on the 23d, and sailed on the 25th of December, 1807, for Nantz, in France, from which port she had returned, and continued to sail under the command of your petitioner :

That, being employed in a regular, legal and direct trade, and one fully authorized both by the laws of France and the United States, and having on board no one article deemed contraband, either of war or customs; and knowing of no Decree, Order in Council, or regulation of any belligerent nation that could be infringed upon or violated by this voyage; and, above all, reposing fully in the guardianship and protection of the Flag and Government of his country, against all aggressions of the powers at war, your petitioner shaped his course confidently upon the great highway of nations :

That, upon the 14th of January, 1808, his ship was fired upon and forced to bring to, upon the high seas, by the British vessel of war, "*Agincourt*," Captain Hill; whose chief officer boarded the "*Two Marys*," demanded and received her papers, and upon her register wrote — "*You are hereby forbidden to enter any port in France, any port occupied by French troops, or any port under the influence of France, under pain of confiscation!*" or words to the same effect; dated his visit, and signed his name and grade, as Lieutenant of His Majesty's ship, *Agincourt* :

That your petitioner then demanded of the said officer, by what authority he dared to deface the register of a neutral vessel, and order from her destination the ship of an independent nation; but he would give no satisfaction, and, after he left the ship, she resumed her course for France :

That, on the 29th of the same month, being then in the Bay of Biscay, his ship was again fired upon, brought to by and boarded, from the English Government schooner, "Pilchard;" whose officer demanded the ship's papers, which were shown him, except the register; and he being persuaded that she sailed under the protection of a *sea letter only*, endorsed on that instrument the same, in substance, as had previously been written on her register by the officer of the Agincourt; but, spurning all orders and irregular proceedings and interference of foreigners, your petitioner persisted in his course for Nantz:

That, having eluded the vigilance and escaped from the pursuit of several other English vessels of war, that were hovering about those passages in order to pounce upon the unprotected neutrals, one of which vessels fired into petitioner's ship, in sight of the French batteries, your petitioner took shelter from them on the morning of the 30th of January, 1808, in the roads of Belle Isle, within thirty miles of the river Loire, into which he was bound, intending to run for and enter that river the next night, hoping thus to escape capture from the British cruizers:

That, having taken on board a pilot for Nantz, and being under the guns of powerful fortifications, a marine officer and eight or ten men came along-side of his ship, and politely requested your petitioner to go on shore with his papers, and show them to the commanding general — offering at the same time a passage in his boat; this offer was accepted, after the ship was anchored, by your petitioner, because the ship's small boat had been, that day, shattered to pieces by a shot from an English frigate:

That, on landing, your petitioner was met by the Commissary of Marine, who examined his papers, and seeing on the register the endorsement of a British officer, declared that the ship and her cargo were a good prize! because *she had suffered herself to be visited by an English vessel of war!* The commissary then exhibited the notorious "Milan Decree," of the 17th of December,

1807, authorizing her seizure, detention, and confiscation ; all which were immediately accomplished. The ship was hauled into the dry harbor of Palais and grounded ; the cargo partly plundered, and the balance placed in store-houses under the Marine Commissary :

That, astonished at such proceedings of his supposed friends, to whom he had fled from the pursuing English, and believing that the decree in question could not apply to his ship, or have a retro-active operation, as he had sailed from New York before that decree had been promulgated *even in Paris!* your petitioner endeavored to set the seizure aside ; but all his efforts proved unavailing :

That, by order on order of the English government in Council, and decree on decree of the French emperor, neutral commerce was at length annihilated ; and every maritime nation was forced either to withdraw from the ocean or to join in the contest with the great belligerents of Europe ; the United States took the former course, but her embargo took effect after your petitioner had left New York, and he became a victim to the despotic systems of contending potentates :

That, your petitioner then proceeded to Nantz, where he joined the consignees of the cargo, and with them petitioned the Imperial Council of Prizes, at Paris, for leave to take the cargo and dispose of it for the benefit of all concerned ; that petition was granted in April, 1808, on condition that the cargo should first be valued according to their orders, and sufficient bonds given to abide the decision of that high tribunal :

That, an agent of the consignees accompanied your petitioner to Belle Isle, where the cargo was valued, bonded, and received by them ; and subsequently transported by boats and land carriage to Nantz, at an enormous expense, sold, and finally accounted for to its owners, after deducting from the proceeds the amount of the bonds and expenses, which were unavoidably paid, according

to the disposition of the decree of condemnation, dated at Paris December, 1808, a copy of which extraordinary condemnation is filed in the Department of State, duly authenticated, which allots the proceeds and vessel to the perjured officers and crew of the National Gunboat, Number 187. By that document most of the facts set forth in this application are fully substantiated :

That, in order to extricate the cargo from this all-grasping tribunal, the consignees claimed the cargo as French property, which claim was not admitted by the Council of prizes :

That, having settled his concerns in France, and obtained the documents necessary to prove the unjust and audacious grounds of the seizure and condemnation of this ship and cargo, your petitioner embarked at L' Orient on board the United States' despatch vessel, *Mentor*, Capt. Ward, and arrived in New York in May or June, 1809, having been forced to pay for his passage and stores in that vessel three hundred dollars, in addition to the very considerable sums he had expended in France, while using fruitless efforts to reclaim the property with which he had been entrusted :

That, on his return to his country, your petitioner found her commerce languishing and restricted ; many of her mercantile establishments ruined ; and individual capital, credit and resources, quite exhausted or paralyzed by the continual hostility of the powers at war, and by the measures resorted to by the United States to counteract the English and French policy ; both of which nations continuing to act upon the principle that " might gives right," persisted in depredating upon, harrassing, and confiscating American property, under various pretences, until England provoked the war of 1812 ; the result of which, proving glorious and beneficial to the flag, arms, and councils of our country, settled all claims upon England up to the peace of 1815, unless stipulated for by treaty :

That, France being forced by the armies of embattled Europe,

and traitors within, to change her policy and her reigning dynasty, and to pay the allies of her new sovereign immense sums of money in order to reimburse their expenditure in effecting the overthrow of Napoleon, which required for several years the utmost exertion of all her financial resources, your petitioner deferred urging his claim upon his government for this spoliation, relying confidently upon measures being taken by the Government that must engage France to assume and pay it shortly, when seized under such aggravating circumstances as was the "Two Mary's:"

That, being aware of the continual negotiations upon this subject, and of the powerful manner in which these claims had recently been urged so irresistibly upon the authorities of France, as to force them tacitly to admit their justice; and watching with anxiety every movement towards a restitution, in conformity with the spirit of a resolution of Congress in 1826, your petitioner forwarded in October of that year, an account of his claim (in conjunction with that of John R. Watson, who was then acting for his widowed mother, who has since empowered your petitioner to act for her in this business,) to the Honorable the Secretary of State, together with the necessary documents to prove the justice of the claims, since which time there appears to have been no further proceedings on the floor of Congress on this subject:

That nearly twenty years have elapsed since this outrage upon the laws of nations, and upon the flag, the neutrality, the honor, interest, integrity and independence of the United States and her citizens, was committed; until the property and patience of your petitioner, and his years, are nearly expended and exhausted; and the spoiler, seemingly glorying in his achievement, still refuses a reimbursement:

That, having no power to enforce on France a restitution, either by reprisal or otherwise, as an individual, your petitioner, therefore, now presents his claim before the highest tribunal of his

country; and on the ground that the nation is bound (in his opinion,) to protect the persons and property of her citizens from all unjust aggressions, particularly when violating no law of the land, and when unjustly plundered by the Government of any civilized country with which they are at peace; and to make good from the national funds such losses, in the same manner as in cases of public expenditures in actual warfare; secure in the right of enforcing on such foreign aggressor in such manner as may comport with its interest, dignity and policy, a full and just remuneration, or *retribution*:

That, under these grievances and impressions, your petitioner now submits his case to your honorable body: soliciting for it that candid, liberal, and enlightened investigation, consideration and decision, to which it seems to be justly entitled from the importance of the subject and the interests concerned: And your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

JAMES RILEY.

New York, Dec. 29, 1827.

The management and supervision of his claim, Capt. Riley confided to Wm. Radcliff, Esq. And it was not till 1836, that any final action in relation to the claims could be obtained from Congress; and even then the indemnification was but partial, and procured after long and tedious delays, and at heavy expense to the applicants and original sufferers.

The following communication from Mr. Radcliff, will show the result of this application before Congress, so far as the said "Two Marys" was concerned; and the amount thus realized amounted to but little more than one quarter of the actual losses and expenditure, though nominally the allowance was greater:

Mr. Radcliff to Capt. Riley.

NEW YORK, Feb'y 27, 1836.

Capt. J. RILEY:

Dear Sir, — Being about to depart for Washington again, I

leave this to inform you the result of your claim under the French Convention.

After every endeavor to the contrary, the Commissioners adopted the rule of domestic valuation of cargoes, even in cases of arrival out, and bonds given for the value there; as in the case of the "Two Marys;" and they disallowed all the expenses incurred on her cargo from Belle Isle to Nantz. The general rule was, the first cost, commission and insurance, and half or two-thirds the freight. In consequence, they allowed only your invoice, and part of the charge of expenses in defending the property in France; which they must have guessed at, having awarded you just *three thousand dollars*.

The whole amount of claims allowed is \$9,352,000 — to be paid with 25 millions of francs; making about 50½ per cent. on the claims allowed, to which is to be added interest for four years, which will make about 58 per cent.

It is now considered certain that the money will be realized soon.

The claim of Mrs. Watson has been allowed for \$11,179; the other shippers according to their respective invoices, and the underwriters just what they have paid.

With much esteem, yours, &c.

WM. RADCLIFF.

THE following certificate is inserted, to exhibit the certainty of the offer made by Holland Nicholl, Esq. to Capt. Riley, of \$5000, for the two Arabian horses, taken from him by the U. S. Government.*

Mr. Aitken was mate of the brig Wm. Tell under Capt. Riley:

* See Chap. VII., ante.

Raphael Aitken's Certificate.

To all to whom it may concern : — This may certify, that on the 4th day of the present month, (Nov. 1834,) Mr. Holland Nicholl, of the city of New York, merchant, came on board the brig Wm. Tell — of which vessel I am mate, and then lying at pier No. 11, East River, New York — and viewed Capt. Riley's two black stud horses. Mr. Nicholl said to me, that if Capt. Riley had a mind to sell the horses, he would give him \$5000 for them, and the cash, in a good check, at half an hour's notice.

The above horses were taken on board at Tangier, Empire of Morocco, by me, and I have always understood them to have been there purchased by Capt. James Riley, master of this brig, from our Consul, Mr. Leib.

New York, 5th November, 1834.

(Signed)

RAPHAEL AITKEN.

DURING the years 1819–20, Capt. Riley held an appointment as a Deputy Surveyor, under the Surveyor General of the U. S. lands in Ohio and Indiana, Edward Tiffin, Esq. ; which territory was then almost an unbroken wilderness, though now teeming with a wealthy and industrious population. During the duties of this employment, he still continued his habits of untiring industry, and in the hours when his companions slept, he was jotting down memoranda for the use of his distant friends, by the light of the camp-fire, or the waxen candle, which he had taken from the forest-bees.

These memoranda show the foresight and common-sense views which Capt. Riley exercised in relation to those regions of the

“West;” and much that he then suggested has been accomplished, and what he then prophesied has since become history, in relation to the internal improvements of the West.

The following communications will be found interesting, not only as exhibiting his views, but as showing the actual condition of those regions at the time he writes, in 1819 :

Capt. Riley to B. Sandford, Esq.

FOREST — head of the Wabash River, near }
Fort Recovery, Ohio, Nov. 20, 1819. }

. Dear Sir: Embracing a leisure moment, while my companions are asleep, I will attempt to give you some description of the country in which we are employed. And although you may be acquainted with an outline of the geographical situation, it may not be uninteresting to give a more particular view than it has been in the power of any one to take, before a part of the surveys were completed.

This tract of country, commonly called the “*New Purchase*,” in Ohio, lies in the North-west part of the State, and comprises *one-fifth* part of its whole area, or about 5,000,000 of acres. It was ceded — by several tribes of Indians — to the United States, by the treaties of Fort Meigs, in 1817, and St. Marys, in 1818. It is bounded north by Lake Erie and Michigan Territory, west by the line that separates Ohio from Indiana, south and east by the line of former purchases from Indians; and lies between latitude $40^{\circ} 20'$, and $41^{\circ} 50'$; and West long. $82^{\circ} 55'$, and $84^{\circ} 50'$. South of latitude 41° , in this purchase, lies an extensive, level country — a kind of *plateau*, and is the most elevated part of Ohio.

The Wabash, Miami and Scioto rivers, which discharge their waters through the Ohio and Mississippi rivers into the gulf of Mexico; and the St. Mary's, Auglaize and Sandusky rivers, that empty their waters into Lake Erie, take their rise and have their sources in this elevated plain. The head branches of those rivers

running different courses and emptying into different oceans, interlock in such a manner as almost to form a junction with each other in the spring of the year; and boats have actually sailed from the Wabash into the St. Mary's, and thence to Lake Erie, through the river Maumee. The waters of the Scioto and the Miami also approach each other in a singular manner, and are nearly connected with the Sandusky and Auglaize rivers. Hence, by but a trifling expense, they might be made to commingle, and thus afford great agricultural and commercial facilities. The climate, for the 40° of latitude, is mild. We have as yet had no snow this season, and but little frost; and the inhabitants who have "*squatted*" in considerable numbers on the public lands in this quarter, are now plowing their fields as in summer, and the corn blades were not nipped with frost so as to injure them before the 20th of October. The soil is in general excellent, and appears to have been formed by alluvial deposit; in digging a well near the St. Mary's river, and on the summit level, they passed through different strata of blue and yellow clay, very fibrous, to the depth of 35 feet, without coming to either rock or gravel, nor did they find good water; when at this depth a shower of rain caused the sides to cave in, and it was abandoned. Along the banks of all the streams the land is good and dry; every quarter section (160 acres,) may afford a good farm.

All the country, except part of the Sandusky plains, is well timbered with hickory, sugar maple, beech, white oak, elm, poplar, white and black walnut, etc. The undergrowth is *paw-paw*, hazel, spicewood, and some prickly ash. On receding from the banks of the streams and rivers some wet land is met with, such as swamps and wet prairies. Most of these, however, will drain themselves when the land around becomes cultivated; and the others afford excellent meadow and grazing land. All the before mentioned rivers take their rise in swamps, or wet prairies, and are not produced by springs, so that in dry seasons they afford

but little water ; and as but few springs are met with on the summit level, (which extends in breadth from north to south about twenty miles,) the inhabitants must depend on wells for their supplies of water at all seasons of the year ; but as we proceed north towards the Lake, where the country assumes a gently rolling aspect, springs and branches are more frequent, and the whole surface inclines gradually to the northward to the margin of Lake Erie.

The rivers and streams flowing north soon become rapid, and abound with excellent fish ; and mill seats are very numerous, where machinery to any amount may be kept in constant operation. In traversing, inch by inch, this interesting region of Ohio, the mind is almost bewildered by the contemplation of its importance—its climate, soil, local situation and permanent advantages. Here may be discovered the sites of future cities, towns, and villages, where agriculture, the arts and sciences, and commerce will flourish in a few years. And here are routes for canals, that at no very remote period, will unite the waters of the Ohio and Lake Erie.*

This region of country is so easy of access from New England by the "*New York Grand Canal*" and Lake Erie, that no doubt can be entertained of its speedy settlement ; while hundreds of citizens already settled in this State are selling, or have sold their farms, with the intention of purchasing and removing into the newly ceded territory as soon as the lands there shall be surveyed and offered for sale, and to increase the chances of a good market.

Besides this "new purchase," there are several millions of acres of excellent land yet unsettled in the most fertile parts of this State—the reasons of this I will attempt to develop. Emigrants removing from the Atlantic States find much difficulty and fatigue in crossing the Alleghany mountains, and hope on *entering*

* This is now accomplished by the Wabash and Erie canal, connecting Lake Erie with the navigable waters of the Wabash in Indiana.

Ohio to find a smooth and level country, instead of which, on the Wheeling and Steubenville roads, they encounter hills and ridges more steep and difficult than the mountains they have passed; and this is found to be the case for nearly two hundred miles, to the vicinity of Chillicothe. Many break their waggon, wear down their teams, curse the road and the country, and either go on to Indiana or Illinois, at great expense, or in disgust return eastward again; never imagining that all, or nearly all, of the land in Ohio north of the road along which they pass, is smooth and fertile, or that one day's travel northward would bring them into a region according with their expectations and desires. Those farmers who wish to emigrate into the western country from New England or New York, may entirely shun the Alleghany mountains, and the no less formidable Ohio hills, by proceeding to Buffalo, and from thence either by land or water to Erie or Cleveland; and thence go southward and westward, where they will not fail of suiting themselves either in Ohio or Indiana.

Having nearly completed the surveys for which I have contracted, I intend to set off in a few days for Fort Wayne, in Indiana, on a tour of observation; and from thence down the Maumee river to Lake Erie, and shall write you from the principal places I visit as I go along.

My candle, formed of wax taken to-day from a "bee-tree," (which afforded us nearly ten gallons of good honey,) is nearly burned out. The wolves howl tremendously around our tent, seeking for food; the great owl, and screech owl, mingling their ominous notes, join in the outcry; and I must now join my companions in sleep.

Please excuse all errors on the ground of haste, and the circumstances under which I write.

Your friend and obedient servant,

JAMES RILEY.

Capt. Riley to B. Sandford, Esq.

FORT WAYNE, Indiana, Nov. 24, 1819.

Dear Sir: Having concluded my surveys for the season, and wishing to view the country between the St. Mary's and the Maumee rivers, to examine for myself the practicability of so uniting the Wabash with the Maumee, as to render intercourse by water, between the Ohio river and Lake Erie, safe and easy, through that channel, &c., &c.

I sat out yesterday from Shane's crossing, on the St. Mary's, and traveling through a district of good land, on or near the right bank of that river, 40 miles, reached this place early in the evening. Early this morning I sat off to look at the junction of the St. Joseph's, rising in Michigan Territory, runs southwesterly about 200 miles, receiving in its course several tributary streams; and the St. Mary's, rising in Shelby county, Ohio, runs northwesterly more than 200 miles, including its meanders, when, forming a junction nearly from opposite points of the compass, the river turns suddenly south, and assumes the name of the *Miami of the Lake*, or, as pronounced by the French, *Maumee*; then turning gradually round again, their congregated waters flow off in a northeasterly direction, about 200 miles, (following the course of the river,) to the southwestern extremity of Lake Erie, where they disembogue into that inland sea.

Fort Wayne stands on a bluff just below the junction, and on the right bank of the Maumee. Its situation was admirably chosen by the General whose name it bears; in whom were united the greatest personal courage and intrepidity, and the most consummate prudence and skill in conducting and supporting an army amidst the forest and morasses, separated from the inhabited parts of the country, by a dreary and boundless wilderness; surrounded on all sides by an innumerable host of savage enemies,

flushed and excited by a recent and decisive victory over the unfortunate General St. Clair.

The active and comprehensive mind of Gen. Wayne created resources as he went along, buffeting the attacks, and baffling the skill and savage cunning of his enemies. With astonishing industry and activity, he cut roads, and marched his troops into all the important points, which he seized and secured with an unerring military eye; and with profound judgment he selected and fortified such posts, and such only, as would inevitably secure his conquests, and afford the surest protection to his army, and an extensive frontier settlement. At every step in this country, every unprejudiced mind will more and more admire the movements and achievements of the army conducted by this veteran, and truly wise and great commander. By occupying Fort Wayne, the communication between Lake Erie and the Ohio, through the channels of the Maumee and the Wabash, (which is the shortest and most direct water route from Buffalo to the Mississippi river,) was cut off, or completely commanded.

The Wabash river, which rises in Ohio, runs north past Fort Recovery, enters Indiana about ten miles from that post, and continuing its course northwardly, approaches Fort Wayne within eighteen miles, when it turns more to the southwest, running diagonally across the State of Indiana, and receiving in its course numerous important tributary streams, until it reaches the line that separates Indiana from Illinois in latitude 40° ; thence meandering through Illinois, and again back into Indiana in a southern direction, discharges its waters into the Ohio river. The little Wabash rises in an elevated swamp prairie, six miles south of Fort Wayne, and joins the Wabash eighteen miles hence. Thus, in high stages of the water, a portage of only six miles, carries merchandize from the head of the Maumee into the navigable waters of the Wabash, (and vice versa) from whence, floating with the current, it may go either to supply the wants of the

interior of the country, or proceed south to New Orleans, or north to Lake Erie.

Through a part of the above mentioned swamp (which is very extensive) a canal might very easily be cut, six miles long, uniting the Wabash to the St. Mary's a little above its junction; and from what I saw and learned from others, it is my opinion, that the swamp might afford water sufficient for purposes of canal navigation.

By the treaties of 1817-'18, (alluded to in a former letter) lands lying in the State of Indiana to the amount of from four to six millions of acres — lying principally on the left bank of the Wabash, and extending from the Ohio line north and east of Fort Wayne, and south and west to former purchases — were ceded to the United States.

These lands are charmingly situated in point of climate. Their soil is mostly of the best quality. The country is well watered and well timbered, and lying on or near the Wabash, enjoys immense advantages. Emigrants from the northern and eastern States to this section of the country, as well as to the "new purchase" in Ohio, will find it to be to their interest, as well as their comfort, to go to Buffalo, and up the Lake to Fort Meigs, twenty-eight miles within the Maumee Bay, and from thence up that river to the mouth of the Auglaize, or to Fort Wayne, and so on to their destination. Early in the spring of the year is the best time for emigration that way, as the streams are then full, and they will find an easy and safe navigation, even in its present unimproved state.

The country about Fort Wayne is very fertile. The situation is commanding and healthy, and here will arise a town of great importance, which must become a *dépot* of immense trade. The fort is now only a small stockade; no troops are stationed here, and less than thirty dwelling houses, occupied by French and American families, form the whole settlement. But as soon as

the land shall be surveyed and offered for sale, inhabitants will pour in from all quarters to this future thoroughfare between the east and the Mississippi river.

The unlooked for progress of that stupendous work — the *N. Y. Grand Canal* — a work of the most momentous consequence to the people of the western country bordering on the lakes, and, indeed, to the whole Union, as it will tend to bind all together by the strongest of all ties — *interest* — to that great emporium of the Western Hemisphere, the city of New York, and the Atlantic States, electrifies the citizens of this country, who now behold themselves transported, as it were, with their possessions near the Ocean markets, and already bless the projectors and supporters of that great work.

To-morrow morning it is my intention to start for Fort Defiance, in company with B. F. Stickney, Esq., late an Indian Agent at this place ; a man of worth, good sense, much science, and well acquainted in these parts. He is now a resident of Port Lawrence, near the Maumee Bay.

I am, with regard, yours, &c.,

JAMES RILEY.

B. SANDFORD, Esq.

IN the following year, being again employed in the survey of the public lands in the same region he writes, on similar subjects as the foregoing, to Hon. Edward Tiffin, Surveyor General, as follows :

FORT WAYNE, Indiana, Nov. 14, 1820.

Sir : A snow storm, which raged the 11th, 12th, and 13th inst., and fell to the depth of about a foot on a level, made it impossible for me to continue my surveys ; and as my men were

not provided with winter clothing, and being on township number one, north of the base line, and in range number one, east of the Indiana line, and learning from travelers who stopped at our camp over night, that the Indians were congregated at this place to receive their annuities from government, curiosity, and a desire to view the country, induced me to come to this place, and remain in this vicinity until it shall be in my power to continue my labors in the forest, and which I hope to finish in three weeks.

The Maumee river is a clear and delightful stream. Its banks are rich and fertile ; in many places already cleared of their forests by the Indians, and in some places large bodies of the best soil are ready for plowing. The meandering course of the river, and its various ripples and rapids, will afford mill seats in abundance for all kinds of manufactories ; and this river must, in a short period, become an immense highway and thoroughfare for the products of the soil of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, to the shores of Lake Erie, and for the commodities used for supplying the comforts and necessities of their inhabitants.

The site of Fort Wayne is high and commanding. It is situated directly at the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary's — rivers of considerable magnitude, and navigable for several months in the year for the largest flat bottomed and keel boats, for a distance of 200 miles, and runs through a rich and fertile country. The St. Mary's has been almost covered with boats, every freshet, for several years past ; and now, though the lands on its banks in Ohio have been for sale only two months, more than one hundred families have already established themselves along its borders. This is a central point, combining more natural advantages to build up and support a town of importance, as a place of deposit and trade, and a thoroughfare, than any point I have yet seen in the western country.

Here the Indians used to hold their great councils, and "*talks*" — and from hence their traders and warriors launched forth by

water ; *east*, by the Maumee ; *south*, by the St. Marys ; *west*, by the Wabash ; and *north*, and *north-west*, by the St. Josephs, and the St. Josephs of Lake Michigan.

Having my chain, compass and level with me, I went yesterday towards the south-west, about a mile and a half, to the St. Marys ; crossed that stream, and measured the distance from that river to *Little River* — a branch of the Wabash — and navigable in times of high water, (without any improvement.) The distance is not quite seven miles, and nearly the whole of it through a soft, wet prairie, affording an abundance of water, at all seasons, for canal navigation. The summit, for three miles, is a perfect level, and then its descent to the portage, or navigable point of Little River, is about 3 feet, and the course south 50' west. From the summit level to the St. Marys, is a fall of about 20 feet ; two locks would therefore be sufficient, and the whole expense of a canal, uniting the *Northern Lakes* with the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, at this point, would not be beyond the means of a few individuals, of enterprize and ordinary capital.

I have not been as careful in leveling as I should have been, had the cold been less severe ; but the results will be found nearly correct.

In speaking of the natural advantages of the site of Fort Wayne, I must remark, that they have been already observed by every traveler in this quarter, and by every individual who visits this place. I presume that they are fully known to you already ; but as the public interest is deeply concerned, and as, it appears to me, a due portion of attention would promote the speedy settlement and safety of this frontier, it ought to be surveyed and sold. In proof of this, let a fact be stated. There are now, in its immediate vicinity, more than 40 families of "*squatters*" and traders, besides a great number of young men, each with his *bundle*, or shop, of goods and trinkets ; all of whom are depredating on the public lands, for timber for their numerous buildings,

for fire-wood, &c. &c. ; and as they have no interest in the soil, and little hope of being able to purchase the land when sold, a system of waste and destruction is going on, and is apparently entered into by all ; so that the whole, or nearly all, of the wood and timber is cut off for about three miles around this place, making the land of but little comparative value, when it shall be brought into market.

Another fact : — There are now assembled, as I should judge, at least *one thousand* white persons from Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and New York, whose object is stated to be that of trade with the Indians, in order to carry off some of their specie, paid them by the Government. They have brought WHISKEY in abundance, which they pretend to deposit with the agent, until he shall have finished his business with the Indians ; but yet contrive to deal out large quantities from their deposits *in the woods*, so that the savages are kept continually drunk, and unfit for any business. Horse-racing, drinking, gambling, and every kind of debauchery, extravagance and waste, are the order of the day, and night too ; and in my opinion, the savages themselves are the most christianized, and the least savage, of the two classes now congregated here. Here the whites set examples to the Indians too indelicate to mention, and that cannot fail to produce in their minds disgust for the American character.

The only means that occurs to my mind, of stopping this career of vice and immorality, is the speedy survey and sale of the lands from the mouth of the Maumee to this place ; and from hence down and along the banks of the Wabash, to the surveys already made in that quarter.

Thus, a cordon of hardy and *respectable settlers* (owners of the soil,) would be formed along the Maumee and the Wabash, and taking advantage of their natural position, would not fail to render essential services to this frontier in case of war ; and in time

of peace give a spur and new energy to agriculture, commerce, and manufactures in those regions. At present, there is no security to him who locates himself on the public lands, nor do I wish there should be ; because, every citizen ought to enjoy equal advantages. This place, if laid out as a town and sold by the government, would bring a large sum of money, and give to the President of the United States the privilege of selecting for it a name, and a chance of bestowing liberally, lands on which to erect public buildings, which would soon be needed at this future emporium of Indiana.

Hundreds of families of squatters have settled themselves on the public lands along down the Maumee river ; no less than 20 at and about the junction of the Auglaize river, where Fort Defiance formerly stood. That situation is very high and beautiful. The lands in its vicinity are of the very first quality. Several thousands of acres of prairie, very rich, lie immediately east of that point, so desirable on many accounts ; and hundreds of people have called on me, this season, in the woods, begging to be informed when the lands at and about Defiance, as well as at Fort Wayne, were to be surveyed and sold, as they were waiting with the greatest impatience to make purchases, either in these towns or vicinity.

If it should meet your views, sir, you would, in my opinion, render very essential benefits to Ohio and Indiana, and to thousands of their inhabitants, by recommending to the honorable Secretary of the Treasury, the propriety of having the whole of the lands on the Maumee and down the Wabash, surveyed and sold ; and that towns, on such scale as might be thought advisable, be laid off and offered for sale as early as practicable, and on account of the government, at Fort Wayne and Defiance. Most of the lands on the Auglaize, Blanchard's Fork, Hog river, Ottawa creek, and Flat Rock creek, and on both banks of the Little Au-

glaze, are fertile and very desirable. It is my intention of returning to the forest to-morrow, as the snow is fast going off.

Most respectfully,

JAMES RILEY.

Hon. EDWARD TIFFIN,
Surveyor General.

IN the fall of 1823, Capt. Riley became a member of the Ohio Legislature from the district where he then resided. While a member of the Legislature he was particularly a friend to all proper measures for the general extension of education, and for the progress of internal improvements. His familiarity with the local features of the northwest portion of Ohio, and the obvious advantages derivable from such improvements as should bring those vast fertile regions within the reach of the commercial world, had strongly impressed his mind with their importance and benefits. He had accordingly corresponded with several eminent persons, whose experience and opinions were valuable and influential, among others with De Witt Clinton, then recently Governor of New York, and under whose personal and official influence the subject of internal improvements by State governments had received an essential impulse.

It seems from a letter to Gov. Clinton by Capt. Riley, that he had conceived the idea of building such boats, or vessels, as should be adapted to the capacity of canal navigation, yet constructed with masts so arranged as to be "capable of being lowered and raised at pleasure," as Capt. Riley expresses it. The purpose of this was, that such vessels might be laden with

produce, etc., on those navigable rivers of which he has spoken, and navigated down Lake Erie to Buffalo, there be received into the canal and pass on to New York without transhipment — the waters of the Lake and the Hudson river to be navigated with sails and masts.

His interest on the subject of such improvements gave him some prominence among their advocates ; and hence, while a member of the Ohio Legislature, he received the following from Gov. Clinton :

Gov. Clinton to Capt. Riley.

ALBANY, 13th Jan., 1824.

Sir : I have just received your letter of the 23d December. I am glad to learn that so zealous a friend of internal improvements is placed in a situation where he will have the power, as well as the inclination, to promote objects of essential importance to the best interests of our country.

I have had the pleasure of conversing with two of your Canal Board, Messrs. Williams and Kelley,* on canals, and I was entirely satisfied and pleased with their just, enlightened, and comprehensive views. There are few men of superior intelligence on subjects of this nature.

With Governor Brown I have had a correspondence, although I have not a personal acquaintance. Gov. Worthington I have long known. With such men as a Canal Board, you have reason to expect a very able report ; and, when it comes in, I will thank you to send me a copy ; and if you shall then require any elucidations from me which you may consider useful, I will with great pleasure furnish them, both from motives of personal respect to

* Hon. Mciajah T. Williams of Cincinnati, and Hon. Alfred Kelly of Columbus, O.

yourself, and from a full persuasion that the contemplated canal is identified with the general prosperity.

I am, very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

DE WITT CLINTON.

JAMES RILEY, Esq.,
Columbus, Ohio.

CAPT. RILEY'S former narrative attracted much attention immediately after its publication ; so much so as to require renewed editions ; and was also translated into other languages.

The following communication from Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck, in behalf of Mr. CHARLES FISHER, shows the general attention and interest felt in the publication ; at the same time it manifests a nice sense of honor and gentlemanly propriety entertained by Mr. Fisher in relation to the subject, which is seen in strong and striking contrast with the unscrupulous course of certain other translators and compilers :

Hon. G. C. Verplanck to Capt. Riley.

WASHINGTON, June 19, 1832.

Dear Sir : Mr. CHARLES FISHER, a worthy German gentleman in one of the western counties of Virginia, has made a translation of your Narrative, for the purpose of publishing it for the use of our German readers in Pennsylvania, Western Virginia and Ohio. He has, however, written to his friends here to state his doubts about the propriety of publishing it without your permission. I believe there can be no doubt nor difficulty about

his legal right, according to our judicial decisions ; but it would be gratifying to him, and put his scruples and doubts at rest if you would express your consent.

I make this communication at the request of his representative in Congress, a worthy friend of mine and a gentleman of talents.

Be so good as to inform me of your views on this subject.

I am, yours truly,

G. C. VERPLANCK.

Capt. JAMES RILEY,
New York.

The request contained in Mr. Verplanck's letter was duly attended to ; and Mr. Fisher, who was truly a "worthy German gentleman," had full permission from Capt. Riley to publish the German translation.

It will doubtless be remembered by the intelligent reader that in Capt. Riley's personal narrative, while at Mogadore, after his redemption from the Desert, he had much conversation with SIDI HAMET, who had been the agent to bring him up out of the hands of his Arab masters, in relation to the geography of that portion of the African continent. Sidi Hamet had traveled much, and was possessed of more than ordinary intelligence ; and the narrative of his travels, as given by him to Capt. Riley, was published by Capt. Riley with his own narrative, with a view of adding something to elucidate the geography of central Africa. The following critical review of Sidi Hamet's narrative, given by him to Capt. Riley, will be read with interest.

BEL MOODEN.

In Sidi Hamet's statements and narrations there is much to interest, and some things, it must be admitted, were apparently improbable, or at least, in some measure apochryphal: or what, more properly speaking, did not comport with our previous information from what are considered reliable authorities on geographical questions. And yet it must be remembered that Sidi Hamet sustained an excellent character for integrity and veracity, as was attested by both Mr. Willshire of Mogadore, and Mr. Renshaw of London; both of whom had repeatedly entrusted him with the most delicate and difficult missions, involving no small amount of personal trust and pecuniary responsibility, yet his integrity was never suspected. And in his narration no inducement could have existed to operate on him to depart from facts which he represented as having fallen under his observation, and the localities which he describes.

Much allowance should undoubtedly be made for the circumstances of Capt. Riley's condition of body and mind at that time, as well as from the details being given through an interpreter in some measure, and rendered to Capt. Riley perhaps in 'bad Spanish,' as intimated by the writer of the following critique, by whom all the circumstances are carefully and judiciously weighed and learnedly examined.

The writer is Count JACOB GRABERG, of Hemsö, the Chamberlain and Chief Librarian of His Imperial and Royal Highness, the Grand Duke of Tuscany; a gentleman of high standing among the *literati* of his native country; although the critical *English* reader will scarcely fail to detect in the following, the peculiar idiomatic phrases of an Italian writing in the English language. His English style is, nevertheless, perspicuous and agreeable:

REMARKS ON SIDI HAMET'S NARRATIVE AS PUBLISHED BY
CAPT. JAMES RILEY.

NO. I.

Pages 315, 319, 323, 325 and 326, of first New York edition.

Biblah, Jathrow, Tishlah, Wabilt, Wad-Teny, or Gozen-Zair, &c. — At the very first perusal of this respectable Arabian merchant's narrative, the attentive reader cannot help finding something singular: that the narrator points out a number of places which, till now, were never heard of; meanwhile, he does not say a word about a great many others which precedent travelers have made known long ago, in the same tracts or directions. Of that kind are the negro town, *Jathrow*, and the watering places, or vallies, *Haherah* and *Tishlah*, as well as the river *Wad Teny*, or *Gozen-Zair*; all which, we would vainly look for upon Rennell's, Arrowsmith's, Reinecke's and Lapie's maps of Africa. On the contrary, not the least mention is made of *Hoden*, *Tegaza*, *Chingarin*, *Taudeny*, *Kabla*, *Aroan*, *Ezaouen* and other places, whose real existence cannot be controverted.

Considering, however, *first*: That hardly no language known has a more difficult, irregular and complicated orthography, than the English. *Second*, That Capt. Riley did not draw his information immediately from Sidi Hamet, but through the interpretations of the Moor, Bel Mooden, who explained the Arabic to him most likely in bad Spanish. *Third*, That it is almost impracticable to give the true sound of Arabic words with Roman and Gothic characters. *Fourth*, That Capt. Riley when he noted down what Sidi Hamet related, was but superficially acquainted with the classical geography of the interior parts of Africa, and with the modern discoveries made in the countries comprised under the name of Soudan or Negro-land. And above all, *Fifth*,

That Sidi Hamet himself, most likely, did either pronounce badly, or confound in his memory the names of the places and towns he had visited, and which he now, by means of a slight interpreter, enumerated for a sea captain, to whose uncommon intelligence, spirit and talents, it can do no harm to suppose him a little less conversant with the details of African chorography than with the manifold objects of theoretical and practical navigation. Considering all this, it would be neither impartial nor reasonable to pretend that a most rigorous orthography ought to be met with throughout the present interesting narrative.

I must confess that I am totally at a loss to set forth, even a conjecture, with respect to *Jathrow*; no such place was ever heard of before. But *Biblah* must certainly be written *Kiblah* or *Kabla*, an inhabited resting place in the northern part of Sahara, or the Great Desert of Africa, where the caravans from Morocco and *Wad-Nun* make their first halt. *Kibir Jible*, or better, *Jibel Kebeer*, the great mountain, may be the ridge of cliffs, or high sand-hills, stretching southwest from the southern extremity of the Atlas to capes Barbas and Blanco.

As to *Haherah*, there is, indeed, on Rennell's or Lapie's maps, a tract of the Desert called *Haher*, near the *Towaryk* of *Twat*, upon the road from Tunis to Tombuctoo, but so far to the northeast from Sidi Hamet's route that they cannot be admitted as the same. Instead of *Tishlah*, I believe we must read *Tistah*, in order to identify it with *Tischit*, or the ancient *Tegaza*, a small town in the neighborhood of some salt lakes, a few day's journey from the southern limits of Sahara, where the Moorish caravans provide themselves with most part of the salt they carry with them to Tombuctoo.

Wabitt may be a corruption of *Walet*. A shariff from this chief town of the *Beeroo* kingdom, told Mr. Mungo Park, at Benown, that its distance west from Tombuctoo, was eleven days journey — according to Sidi Hamet's statement, it would be fourteen days;

but he made a circuit to avoid the hilly part of the country, which he found overgrown with trees. It is almost a century since a merchant from Tombuctoo assured Father Labat that the travelers were obliged, two days west from Tombuctoo, to leave the sight of the river, in order to make the journey shorter. It is difficult to determine whether *Walet* is the ancient *Gualata*; and yet more difficult to make any reasonable conjecture with respect to the river *Wad Teny*, or *Gozen Zair*. Sidi Hamet affirms positively, that the same river runs to Tombuctoo, and from thence to the eastward. But Mr. Mungo Park did not have a word about a river in that quarter. The above mentioned shariff made him, however, the observation, that on the road from Tombuctoo to Walet, there was *plenty of water*. For the rest, it is not inconsistent with the highest probability, that a river coming from the northwest runs through the territories of *Ludamar*, *Beeroo*, and *Masina*, where it may fall, either into the Lake Dibbie, or into a branch of the *Joliba*. It is a great pity that Capt. Riley did not make Sidi Hamet give him some further intelligence with respect to this eminently interesting point of African Geography.

NO. II.

Pages 328 and 332.

Tombuctoo.—Sidi Hamet says that the city is five times as great as *Soueera*, or Mogadore; and has six times as many inhabitants. Consonant with Capt. Riley's estimate, that famous place should then have 216,000 inhabitants. These estimations, however, are exaggerated, both for Tombuctoo and Mogadore. Mr. Grey Jackson himself, who has been so exceedingly liberal in his other estimates of the population in *Mogkrib-el-Aksaa*, or West Barbary, reckons only 10,000 inhabitants at Mogadore. But this, again, is too little. After what I have been able to learn

and state from information given me by Christians, Moors; and Jews, I think myself entitled to fix the number of the inhabitants of Mogadore, at sixteen, or at the most, eighteen thousand souls. Admitting, then, with Sidi Hamet, that Tombuctoo has, at least, six times as many, we cannot set down the number of its inhabitants at less than 100,000, besides the sixteen or eighteen thousand who live in the *Millah*, or Moors' town. But how will it be possible to reconcile this high estimation with the notice transmitted in the year 1798, by the late Mr. Broussonet, to the French National Institute, that several Moors, who had been more than once at Tombuctoo, had asseverated to him that this city was no way larger than Tetman, in West Barbary, and had only 10,000 inhabitants? On this subject I cannot help adding an information given, some years ago, by a Moor from Rabat, who had been twice at Tombuctoo, to one of my friends, M. Chevalier de Lesseps, as he questioned him about the appearance of that famous city. With a view to represent the irregularity of its buildings, the Moor made use of the following energetic expression: "*Take a number of huts in your hand, throw them up in the air, let them fall down again, and you will have Tombuctoo.*"

All our earlier notices of Tombuctoo are concordant in stating that this kingdom, at least since the year 1800, belongs to the king of *Bambara*, whose capital is *Sego*, though the sovereign usually resides at *Jinnie*. It has been affirmed that he appoints and pays the umpire and *alemmas*, or members of the Divan, to whom the government of Tombuctoo is entrusted. But Sidi Hamet speaks of an independent prince, who seemed to govern his people more like a father than a king; and I must confess that his assertions gain a new degree of strength from the diary of Isaaco, published in Mr. Mungo Park's last travels, where it is stated that the king of Tombuctoo's servants, had, in the year 1810, plundered two caravans from *Bambara*.

The narrative published under the name of Robert Adams,

speaks, also, of a war between those two kingdoms. I shall return on the topic of this pseudonymous publication.

It is something very extraordinary, that Sidi Hamet in his description of Tombuctoo, does not say a single word of the small town called *Kabra*, situated on the bank of the *Joliba*; where, for several centuries, it has served, and still serves, as the commercial dépôt, or landing and shipping place to the capital city. All former informations agree in placing Tombuctoo at twelve English miles north from the *Joliba*. If we believe Sidi Hamet, this distance would be far less, inasmuch as the Moors, in one hour's ride, went down to the banks of the river, to water their camels and get their own drink. According to other informations, which chime in with the most ancient ones, Tombuctoo would be situated upon another river, coming from the northwest and falling into the *Joliba*; nay, Sidi Hamet himself, in his first journey to Tombuctoo, assures that such a river ran close to the walls on the west of the city, but that it was quite dry when he saw it. The only word he utters about a town on the *Joliba*, in the vicinity of Tombuctoo, is, when setting out on his journey to *Wassanah*, he says, that the caravan arrived, after two hours ride, at a miserable village, built with canes and mudded over, situated on the bank of the same river he saw at *Wabilt*, and to which he now gives the name of *Zolibib*, a visible (evident?) corruption of *Joliba* or *Giilbi* — which, in the language of the *Afnoo*, and other inland negroes, has the same signification as *Bohar*, in Arabic, namely, *sea* or *great-water*. The description, however, he gives of this village, has not the least coincidence with the knowledge we already have of *Kabra*.

NO. III.

Page 328. "The city is strongly walled in with stone laid in clay," etc.

Here Sidi Hamet's narrative contradicts in express terms what we already know of Tombuctoo; and especially what Mr. Jack-

son says he heard from Moorish merchants, who had made several journeys to and from this extraordinary place. They all told him that the city has no walls, but that its circumference is about twelve miles. It is indeed painful to grope in such a darkness in relation to every notice concerning a region with which the Carthagenians, long before the time of Herodotus, had uninterrupted commercial intercourse. Persons who are desirous of reading descriptions made at random, may find some very quaint and curious ones in the work alluded to here above, and published at London in the year 1816, with the title, "*The narrative of Robert Adams, a sailor, who was wrecked on the western coast of Africa, in the year 1810 ; was detained three years in slavery by the Arabs of the Desert, and resided several months in the city of Tombuctoo.*"

This new Damberger, whose real name is Benjamin Rose, born in New York, has no more been at Tombuctoo than the famous *Psalmansar* ever was in the island of *Formosa* ! His narrative begins with the year 1810, and it is publicly known that the brig "Charles" was wrecked only on the 11th of October, 1811 ; and so Rose deposed before the American Consul General at Tangier, Mr. James Simpson, by whose means he was released in August, 1813. Consequently, all the incidents he states before that period, must so much the more be looked upon as fictitious, as two of his shipmates, his own brother-in-law, Martin Clarke, and James Davidson, both Americans from the United States, as well as an Englishman, shipwrecked in the year 1811, have all asseverated to Mr. Simpson, that Rose always remained with them, or in their vicinity, whilst in slavery ; and that none of them have been south of the parallel of Cape Blanco.

It is in the meantime deplorable that men of so great respectability and learning as Messrs. Samuel Cox and Joseph Dupuis, should have, with their ingenious and highly interesting remarks, corroborated the imposition of Rose. Mr. Dupuis has, however,

acknowledged that he had not with him, in London, the memoranda he noted down at Mogadore from the oral account of the imposter. The above mentioned Consul General, Mr. Simpson, and Mr. Charles Hall, late of Cadiz, (to whom Rose was a servant throughout the year 1814,) possess each a narrative, which Rose dictated to them, of his adventures; and it follows as a matter of course, that both of them very often differ essentially, and are nothing less than similar to what he, under the name of *Adams*, trumped up to Mr. Cox and others at London; where, however, the venerable and experienced Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. John Barrows, and others, saw into the inconsistency of his story. As one single but striking instance out of the many contradictions exhibited by Rose's different narrations, I shall only note that he positively stated to Mr. Hall, he had never seen an elephant in his life; whereas, in his printed book, he has framed a pretty tale about the hunting of those animals near Tombuctoo!

Yet I shall not deny to Adams' narrative all sort of merit; as the author somehow understood and spoke the Arabic, he very likely gathered from Moors and Negroes what he afterwards related at Mogadore, Tangier, Cadiz and London; and in that respect his information should not be entirely rejected; especially when they coincide with those obtained from preceding travelers. All what he says concerning Soudan and Tombuctoo, can be but what he has himself heard from other people at Wad-Nun and Mogadore. But, less conscientious than Capt. Riley, he has given out the whole as the produce of his own experience, and thus trumped up a tale in which many separate points may be true, though they never passed in the presence of the narrator.

No, it must be confessed with regret, that till this day, no Christian has been able to enter the city of Tombuctoo; for, of a German who, in the year 1811, was said to have his own house in that extraordinary place, we have no other information than what a renegado told Mr. Röntzen at Mogadore. If any person in the

course of time should succeed in procuring us confident (reliable?) informations concerning *Soudan*, *Joliba*, and the interior of Africa, and perchance penetrate himself through this immense continent, I am inclined to think that such an achievement has been reserved to NATHANIEL PEARCE, whom my Lord Valentia left thirteen years ago in the Abyssinian kingdom, *Tigre*; and with whom Mr. Salt again met in the year 1810, in the best state of health, and so perfectly conversant with the language and customs of the country that he might pass for a native Abyssinian.

Little or no doubt must be made of Mr. Röntzen's death near the river Tensift in West Barbary; but all hopes are not to be resigned as to the life and return to Europe of Mr. Hornemann, as long as we know that a great number of European Christians live at Bournoo; where, however, the same politics (policy,) as in Abyssinia, will, perhaps forever, seclude (preclude,) all means of their return. Some hopes remain likewise of seeing Mr. Mungo Park again,* especially if credit can be given to what Benjamin Rose said he heard at Wad-Nun from a negro woman, i. e., that she, in her native country, *Kanna*, or *Gana*, (quære *Guinea*?) had seen a two masted vessel, with white people, who went down the Joliba by means of oars when they could not make use of sails.

NO. IV.

Pages 326 and 327. "The houses are round, and the tops come to a point," etc.

Mr. Jackson assures, that the houses at Tombuctoo are spacious and of a square form, with an opening in the centre, (a court?) towards which the doors open. For my part I should

* This hope was fondly cherished throughout Christendom for many years, but the fatal termination of his career is now lamentably certain.

rather believe Sidi Hamet; because, to judge of what we know of other negroes' habitations, the round form with conical tops seem to be generally made use of. It is possible that the Soudaneese who informed Mr. Jackson, only spoke of the Millah, or Moslem part, which I much rather incline to believe; as the *Du-aria*, or rooms contiguous to the entrance door, in which visitors are received and lodged, would not suit the negro town where no stranger is allowed to pass the night.

NO. V.

Pages 329 and 333. "Neither the king nor his people are Moslemen," &c.

That the kings, and inhabitants of all the neighboring countries to the west and the south, are Mahomedans, cannot be controverted. Hassan Ibn Mohammed el Gamatti, who, in Europe has been named *Leo Africanus*, or *Leo of Grenada*, assured, three hundred years ago, that not only all the inhabitants of Tombuctoo were Moslemen, but, also, that a Mahomedan prince called Mursi Soleiman, built this famous city in the year 610 of the Hegira, or 1213 of the Christian era. He relates, moreover, that an architect from Grenada had erected at Tombuctoo, a mosque of stone laid in clay. The Soudaneese referred to by Mr. Jackson, asseverated, also, unanimously, that although with exception of the Jews, every one is allowed to worship the great Author of his being, without restraint, and according to his own religious tenets—the Islamism, however, is the dominant religion; and that the civil jurisprudence is directed, and justice administered according to the spirit of the Koran. Sidi Hamet, on the contrary, affirms, positively, that the inhabitants of Tombuctoo are not only people who do not fear and worship God like the Moslems, but that they are Pagans, who pray when they see the moon, and have no mosques; but dance every night, when

the Moors and Arabs pray. He adds, that they can neither read nor write ; whereas, both Hassan Ibn Mohammed, and almost all the modern travelers who have visited the place, affirm that the natives possess a great flow of animal spirits, and have amongst them a great number of learned and lettered men, with a state library, composed of manuscripts in the Arabic, Hebrew, and other tongues. As to the Arabic translations from Greek and Latin authors unknown to Europeans, mentioned by the Soudanese to Mr. Jackson, they may exist for aught I know ; something more certain is, that the African Association at London has attempted to demonstrate in her reports that the inhabitants of Tombuctoo make use, in their manuscripts, of characters differing totally from the Arabic and Hebrew.

But the greatest of all differences between Sidi Hamet's narrative, and what we knew before concerning Tombuctoo, consists in his description of their females. He says they are very fat, and dressed only in a light shirt, or under-dress, and over it a green, red, or blue covering from their breasts to below their knees, and go barefooted. At the time when Hassan Ibn Mohammed visited the place, they covered their heads with very large veils, purchased from the coasts of the Mediterranean ; and all modern informations add thereunto, that as these women are usually very handsome, their husbands are so jealous, that they will hardly allow them to go and visit their female relations ; and even then compel them, notwithstanding the extreme heat of the weather in that climate, to wrap themselves up in vast haiks, like the Mooresses in West Barbary, so that nothing of the whole body is allowed to remain uncovered, but one eye wherewith to go groping along their way from one hut to another. This striking contradiction cannot be otherwise explained than by supposing that Sidi Hamet speaks of the women in the large, or negro town ; and the other informations, of those who inhabit the Millah, or Moslemen's town.

Adams's narrative chimes in with Sidi Hamet, as to both objects of this remark. The learned editor enters into a long and profound disquisition, with a view to demonstrate, that the Paganism is the dominant religion at Tombuctoo; and I confess, with all my heart, that I have found these arguments and evidences both probable and concluding, (conclusive?)

NO. VI.

Page 329. "Bad Arabs."

I own, that at first I did not clearly understand what Sidi Hamet meant by this equivocal denomination. My first thought was that he intended to denote *bad*, or heretic Mahommedans; and as it is known that most of the Arabians of the Desert, have but the bare name of Moslemens, or true believers, and do not care either for the Koran, nor for prohibited meat and drink, but live as half heathens, Sidi Hamet would not have been much in the wrong by calling *them* "bad Arabs." But the Moors never confound these denominations; and I have been informed by many of them, that they, as well as all true Arabs, distinguish, with the name of *Arabun mustaarabatun* — spurious, or intruded; and *mustaagemun* — barbarians — those inhabitants of the Great Desert, and Soudan, who indeed pretend to be Arabs, but cannot (*evince*) such a pretension by means of genealogy, language nor customs. We know that all of the Arabs of Africa were divided into three classes, namely: the BEDOUINS, MUSTAARABS, and the MUSTAAGEM. The first were true Arabs, issued from Arabia; the Mustaarabs had nothing Arabic except the language; but the Mustaagems were a medley of Berebers, and other indigenous Africans, who could not, without difficulty, speak the Arabic tongue.

I am, therefore, disposed to think that Sidi Hamet's meaning

was to denote the Saharian tribes, *Towanyk*, and Tibloo, belonging to the primitive and extensive Bereberish nation. The late unfortunate Mr. Browne heard the people of Dar Sur call them *Mogh'rebins*; which name not only signifies "*Occidental*," but also "*white*," and "for wandering" Arabs. Hornemann spoke of them as a pleasant and mild people, more kind and friendly towards the Christians, than was any other Mahomedan nation of Africa.

NO. VII.

Page 334. "*Bimbinah*."

Here we meet again with a denomination entirely new in the African geography.

The distance of this place, little to the south of east, from Tombuctoo, calculated as six or seven day's journey, in a plain and even country, cannot be more than one hundred and twenty English miles. The Arabian *merahhlun*, or day's journey, are not always of the same length; sometimes they travel ten hours a day, at other times only seven; and a loaded camel very seldom goes three miles in an hour. Consequently, I am sorry to state that Capt. Riley's estimates are here somewhat exaggerated. If we admit a medium of 20 to 24 miles a day, *Bimbinah* must lie nearly below the capital city of *Haoussa*, and be its commercial d pot, or port, as Kabra is to Tombuctoo. The journal of Isaaco, and Amadi Fatooma, published in Mr. Mungo Park's last travels, inform us that at a short distance from thence, near a village named Bussa, the river forms a considerable fall or rapid, where it is likely that Mr. Park and his European companions have lost their lives. Sidi Hamet says only that the river turned more to the southeastward, because there was a very high mountain to the eastward. This agrees perfectly with the information

Hornemann got from a negro *marabout* at *Murzack*.¹ Stands the case so, and are Sidi Hamet's further notices to be depended upon, then all our maps of Africa extant must be entirely made over again; for the best and newest amongst them give a north east direction to the *Joliba*, on the other side of Haoussa.

Fifteen other days' journey carried Sidi Hamet to three small negro towns, whose size and names it would have been interesting to know. Their distance from *Bimbinah* could not be more than 330 English miles; so that they must be situated nearly north of the tract where our best maps place the Jewish republic *Lam-lem*, or, *Melli*; whereof so many quaint and curious things may be read in the works of Shariff al Edrisi, Hassan Ibn Mohammed, Dappers, and other authors.

From the farthest of the above mentioned negro towns, Sidi Hamet went onward in about a southeast direction, winding as ran the river, for three days, and then had to climb, for other six days, over a ridge of mountains, against the steep side of which the river formed a dreadful cataract, forcing its way through the rocks and cliffs on both sides, belonging, it would appear, towards the east to the *Jibel Gumri*, or Mountains of the Moon; and towards the west to the Kong mountains, between Soudan and Guinea. Calculating for these nine days a medium of 20 miles a day, the distance of this cataract from Tombuctoo must be at least 660 miles to the east southeast, and consequently its place by reason of the river's windings, must be appointed between the 12th and 13th degrees of north latitude. The rivers which our travelers afterwards passed, on the left, or northeast side, descend, without doubt, from *Wanagara*, *Darkulla*, *Metko*, and *Baghenna*, where the large and yet unexplored rivers of *Misselaad* and *Wad-el-ghazel* form the lakes *Fittre*, or *Cauga Hemad*, and *Lewregonda*, whose waters very likely have their issue in the *Joliba*, as well as those that descend from the Mountains of the Moon. Hornemann was told at *Tryioli* and *Murzuck*, that more

than twelve such rivers fell into the *Gülbi* or *Joliba*. Shariff al Edrisi affirmed already in the twelfth century, that the lake *Cauga* had a communication with the indraughts of *Wangara*, and with the Niger. Sidi Hamet and Capt. Riley would have rendered an inestimable service to the science in giving us at least some further information respecting the names, the extent, and the origins of these unknown rivers.

The route continued for twelve days, southeast from the cataract, in a good path, to a ferrying-place, whose name would have been so much the more important to know, as it appears to have been a populous and trading place. Its distance from the cataract cannot be reckoned at less than 270 miles, and, consequently, 930 southeast by east from Tombuctoo, between the 9th and 10th degrees of latitude. The remaining distance, fifteen days from thence to *Wassanah*, correspond to other 300 miles, so that the whole distance from Tombuctoo to *Wassanah* is nearly 1200 miles ; which Shelbar's caravan traveled in 85 days ; or in 51, if we deduct the resting days. With this distance and the courses steered, the city of *Wassanah* cannot be situated less to the south than between the 5th and 6th degrees of north latitude. And as Sidi Hamet informs us furthermore that the river runs first from thence to the southward, and then to the westward, taking their boats three months to get from *Wapanah* to "the great water," or the Ethiopic Ocean, which makes a distance of about 800 miles, and not 2500, as Capt. Riley calculated it, the account of our Arabian traveler will overthrow all the hypothetical systems made to this day with respect to the course, the length, and the outlet of the *Joliba*.

NO. VIII.

Page 327. "Zadi."

I have already observed in the beginning of these notes that no great reliance is to be placed upon the orthography of these

African names. In this instance, however, Sidi Hamet seems better informed ; for we know from Hornemann's notices of Soudan, that the Joliba is named *Zad* by the negroes from *Haoussa*. This denomination is said, like those of *Gaora*, *Gulbi*, *Zolibib*, and *Joliba*, to signify the "*Great Water*." But the people from whom Hornemann got his information, told him besides that the *Zad* ran through the city of *Bournoo*, where this river already had the breadth of one English mile. They affirmed, moreover, that *Wad-el Ghazel*, was not the name of a river, but of a fertile and populous valley. I shall not attempt to establish the identity of the rivers on whose banks the two cities of Bournoo and Wassanah are situated ; but nothing hitherto forbids me to adopt such an opinion. This river *Zad*, or *Zadi*, would then really become the *Niger* of the ancient Romans, Shariff-al-Edrisi's Nil-es-Soudan, or, *Nile* of the negroes ; and those geographers who have pretended that this river communicated with the northeast Nile of Africa, have not been so much in the wrong as was supposed. *Effectively*, if the *Zad*, as it appears, receiving the waters of the *Kookou*, the *Misselaad*, and other rivers, passes through the lakes above mentioned, what should hinder it from joining the Joliba, wheresoever (somewhere ?) below the great cataract, and above the city of Wassanah ? The joint river would then be borne along between the mountains, first to the southward and then to the westward, where, finding and forcing its way to the ocean, it disappears under the name of the *Zaire*, or *Congo*. This hypothesis, which would conciliate (reconcile ?) all what has been said and written on account of the Niger, or Joliba, I submit to the impartial disquisition of our learned geographers, to be confirmed by further discoveries.

I cannot, however, excuse (omit ?) observing, that Sidi Hamet ought, if such be the state of things, to have spoken of the confluent (confluence ?) of the two great rivers ; whereas he simply states that he passed some small ones. But I have repeated that

very little weight ought to be placed as to the material (?) expressions of a narrative which has passed through so many tongues. And who knows if the caravan did not pass the north-east river at the above mentioned ferrying place, twelve day's journey below the cataract, and fifteen above Wassanah? It is known how the Moors and Arabs behave themselves when thus questioned by the Christians. The Arabs' information is always confined to answers to the questions asked; and as the most liberal and unprejudiced amongst them will always be suspicious and apprehensive of acquainting Christians with the way to the interior parts of Soudan, the credibility of such informations stands less upon the faithful recollections of the informer, and upon the integrity of his answers, than upon the Christian's ability to make, in a cunning manner, his interrogations and his researches.

Not the least reflection can be cast on Capt. Riley's honesty and capacity, of which all those who have had any intercourse with him bear the most unquestionable testimony; but, neither he, nor any person whosoever, will be likely to give bail for the scrupulous accuracy of Sidi Hamet, or for the infallibility of his recollection, with regard to such circumstances as were not calculated to impress themselves strongly upon his mind, or which he perchance did not look upon as being of any consequence.

I dare, of course, hope that my readers will allow me to take for granted, in Sidi Hamet's narrative, all the details against which I can offer no evidence, and to compare with his incidents such notices as he may probably have omitted. In matters like these no proficiency would ever be attained should we not at first take up with conjectures.

Respecting the outlet of Joliba, or *Zadi*, to the ocean, the direction of the river at Wassanah, and its being straitened and pent up between two ridges of high mountains, so that it cannot so soon force its way to the westward, where part of those

mountains most likely tend ; to the west are the waters of the rivers *Formosa*, *Cruz*, *Colabar* and *Del Rey*, that fall into the Gulf of Guinea, on both sides of Cape Formosa. These ridges of mountains which, from this side, pen up the river Zadi, offer a new evidence against Mr. Reichards' ingenious hypothesis, making the provinces *Ovari* and *Calbari*, in Guinea, to a Delta, for this southwest Nile of Africa. The most specious of his arguments is deduced from the premises that no mountains existed between *Dar-Kulla* and the Gulf of Guinea.

For my part, I confidently believe with Mr. Mungo Park and Captain Riley, that the river Joliba has its outlet in the Ethiopic Ocean, under the name of Zaire. The expedition made in the year 1816, under the command of the unfortunate Mr. Tuckey, has given no intelligence capable of overthrowing this position.

NO. IX.

Pages 336, etc. "Wassanah."

We now arrive at the most remarkable part of Sidi Hamet's narrative. I have long thought possible to identify this name with that of *Casana*, or *Casena*, mentioned by Leo Africanus, and other authors, and whose actual appellation is *Kassina*, or *Kashna*. Hornemann heard some people call it *Asnoo*. The country so called is situated to the east of *Haoussa*, near in the same tract where Ptolemy placed *Ta-Gana* ; and Shariff al-Edrisi, *Ghana*, Niebur, *Kahn* ; and the late unfortunate Doctor Seetzen affirms that the negroes of Bournoo call it *Afnoo*, or *Affanoh*. But Einsiedel, in his inestimable description of Africa, has proven that the last mentioned country is a separate kingdom, which fact has been confirmed to me by a lady of the highest respectability, born at Tunis, where she was attended for several years by a native of *Afnawee*, the chief city of *Afnoo*, who assured her posi-

tively that this country and *Kassina* are governed by two independent sovereigns.

But Sidi Hamet's *Wassanah* lies too far south to be identified with *Kassina* of our best maps extant. And here I cannot forego repeating my expression of surprise at not finding in the narrative the least mention made of *Haoussa*, *Sala*, *Tokur*, *Berisah*, *Solum*, *Youri*, *Ganah*, *Tirka*, *Ghamara*, and other places, already known to be situated in this direction on the banks of the *Joliba*. Time to come will no doubt unveil the hidden face of those immense regions, and hopes must yet be cherished about Lieut. Campbell's succeeding in his attempt to descend the Niger, as far as possible, since we must renounce the project of remounting the *Zaire* beyond one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth.

The relation Sidi Hamet gives us of the climate, soil and natural productions of the country around *Wassanah* coincides exactly with the notices authors have given us of the contiguous regions of Africa. What he calls barley and corn is very likely what the Arabs call *Durrah*, *Dokna*, and *Tef*, three sorts of grain belonging to the Linnean families *Holeus*, *Sorghum*, and *Melica*. The "land covered with rice" must have been sown with *bishna*, *Ehrharta mlicoides*, a kind of rice cultivated in the neighboring parts of Africa. The tree with whose leaves the inhabitants of *Wassanah* cover their huts, and of whose bark the poor people make the cloth wherewith they cover their loins, cannot, as Capt. Riley supposes, be the palm tree, which has never been found to grow so far from the sea shore. I am disposed to think it to be a species of *Benana*, or *Arcea*, which the negroes of Bournoo and Bagherma call *n'goro*. There is at least a great resemblance between Sidi Hamet's description, and that given to Dr. Sweetzen by the Dar-Four negro, Mohammed, of a palm or plantain fruit, growing in abundance in the Shillock's country, twenty days journey to the west from *Gobbeh*. This fruit has (is ?) one foot in diameter, and its kernel is as large as a man's fist, clenched.

The mentioned negroes have confirmed beforehand what Sidi Hamet tells us respecting the houses or huts at Wassanah, viz: that they were of stones, usually piled up without clay, but now and then having the chinks filled up with something white like lime, but not so hard, and some reeds laid across the tops, which are covered with above mentioned date or palm tree. The king's house was very nearly built like those in *Sus* and *Mogh'rib-el-Aksaa*. Many travellers, however, have called in question how people who go almost entirely naked could employ so much industry on their habitations.

NO. X.

Page 388. "Ilfement."

It must appear extraordinary that Sidi Hamet saw only this single elephant in all his journeyings, though it is long known that this huge quadruped is found in Africa up to 20° of north latitude. About Tombuctoo they have been seen at all times. Our Arab speaks of this animal as if he, or his auditors, should never have known any such a thing.

But every Moor, especially if he has been at Mecca, knows *completely* well what it is; and the Arabic name of the elephant, *feel*, is even as vulgar (common?) in West Barbary as *seba'a* for the lion; *nimir*, for the tiger; *kerkedan*, for the rhinoceros, and *zaraf* for the camelopard, although these two latter animals are met with only in the southern parts of Africa.

CONCLUSION.

The narrative of Sidi Hamet's journeyings to Tombuctoo and Wassanah, unto which alone I have confined these remarks, stands

in great need of confirmation from succeeding travelers. At first sight, and under the able and elaborate introduction, its design seemed to be not less than to afford a guide for the interior geography of Africa. Laid open, however, before the mirror of criticism, some difficulties arise which it will not be easy to remove. I have offered in the above remarks my objections and conjectures, and am bold enough to believe them to be neither subtile nor inconsistent with probability and reason. Such as they are, I submit them candidly, with Sidi Hamet's notices, to the impartial judgment of those who are better informed than I am. Major Leddie's successor, by the relations of late so happily established between the English government and the Ashantee nation will, it is hoped, soon unfold a great part of this important riddle. Till then, I trust that I may be suffered to believe myself entitled to draw from the foregoing remarks the following conclusions :

First, It would be equally rash and improper, or rather unjust, to deny Sidi Hamet all sort of credit ; but sound criticism can not allow to take for granted or undoubted all that he has related to Capt. Riley.

Second, It must be lamented that a man with so much good will, and possessed of so various kinds of instruction (information ?) as Capt. Riley, has not employed the necessary skill on (for ?) the purpose of drawing all the advantages possible from Sidi Hamet's complaisance and extensive knowledge of Africa. For, to judge of this Arab by the picture Capt. Riley gives us, of his excellent character and vast acquired intelligence, it must be acknowledged that no great use was made of such a valuable and unprecedented opportunity. On occasions of this kind, it is not enough to discover and appreciate the possibility of the facts related ; the first talent of the examiner must be to start up and throw forth such seasonable and decisive objections which may compel the truth to break forth in defiance of the narrator.

Too much stress ought not, however, to be laid upon this plausible censure ; proper allowance being due to the oppressed situation of Capt. Riley's mind at the moment he examined Sidi Hamet. A man borne down by the most dreadful hardships, must not be put in the balance with the scholar who, from his study, extends his speculations to the most secret details of science.

Albeit, I cannot forbear expressing my admiration of the unparalleled retentiveness of Capt. Riley's memory, by means of which he was able to preserve and detail with so much accuracy, after so long and distressful a period, every incident that befel him, day by day, during the time of his sufferings in the desert.

As to the whole of his narrative I have, nevertheless, no hesitation in placing my entire confidence in the author, whose work is one of the most valuable books of travels that has been of late years published in any part of the civilized world.

J. GRABERG, of *Hemso*.

The following is a portion of the narrative of Sidi Hamet upon which the foregoing criticisms are made by Count Graberg. We have extracted it from the first edition of Capt. Riley's narrative, printed in 1817. As a description of the dangers to which the caravans are exposed in their long journeys across the trackless desert, it will be found peculiarly interesting.

JOURNEY TO TOMBUCTOO.

"ABOUT that time one of our party, when we first went to Tombuctoo, named *bel Moese*, came to see me — he was going to

join the caravan at Widnoon again, and persuaded Seid and me to go with him ; so we bought eight camels between us, and sold off our cattle and sheep, and bought goods and powder, and went with him to Widnoon, and joined the caravan. Sheick Ali came to meet me like a friend, and gave me two camels laden with barley, and wished me a safe journey. The Sheick who was chosen by all the people to command the caravan, was named *Sidi Ish-rel* ; he was the friend of Sidi Ishem, who owned almost one-half of the whole caravan, and we set out from Widnoon, with about four thousand camels, and more than one thousand men, all well armed. We laid in an abundant store of barley, and had a great many milch camels, and it was determined to go south across the desert, nearly on a straight course for Tombuctoo, by the way the great caravans generally traveled : though there had been several of them destroyed on that route, that is to say, one within every ten or twelve years. We went to the south, around the bottom of the great Atlas mountains, six days journey ; then we stopped close by it, and cut wood and burned coals for the camels, for the caravans never attempt to cross the desert without this article : four hundred camels out of the number were loaded with provisions and water for the journey, and after having rested ten days, and given the camels plenty of drink, we went up on the desert and steered off to the south-easterly. We traveled along, and met with no sand for fifteen days ; it was all a smooth surface, baked together so hard that a loaded camel could not make a track on it to be seen : we saw no tracks to guide us, and kept our course by the stars, and sun, and moon. We found only one spot in all that time where our camels could satisfy their appetites by eating the shrubs in a shallow valley, but the great well in it was filled up with stones and sand, so we could procure no water there ; at the end of fifteen days, however, we came to a very fine deep valley, with twenty wells in it ; but we found water in only six of them, because the desert was very dry : here we wa-

tered all our camels, and replenished our bottles or skins, and having rested seven days, we departed for the south-eastward, our camels being well filled with leaves and thorn bushes.

“ We traveled along three days on the hard sand, and then arrived among innumerable drifts of fine loose sand ; not such coarse sand as you saw near the sea ; it was as fine as the dust on a path, or in a house, and the camels feet sunk in it every step up to their knees ; after traveling amongst this sand (which in the day time was almost as hot as coals of fire,) six days, there began to blow a fierce wind from the south-east, called the wind of the desert, bringing death and destruction with it : we could not advance nor retreat, so we took the loading from off our camels, and piled it in one great heap, and made the camels lie down. The dust flew so thick that we could not see each other, nor our camels, and were scarcely able to breathe — so we laid down with our faces in the dust, and cried aloud with one voice to God — ‘ great and merciful God, spare our lives ! ’ but the wind blew dreadfully for the space of two days, and we were obliged to move ourselves whenever the sand got so heavy on us that it shut out all the air, and prevented us from breathing ; but at length it pleased the Most High to hear our supplications ; the wind ceased to blow ; all was still again, and we crawled out of the sand that had buried us for so long a time, but not all, for when the company was numbered, three hundred were missing — all that were left having joined in thanks to God for his mercy in sparing our lives ; we then proceeded to dig out the camels from the sand that had buried their bodies, which, together with the reloading of them, took us two days. About two hundred of them were dead ; there was no green thing to be seen, and we were obliged to give the camels a little water from the skins, to wash their parched throats with, and some charcoal to eat ; then we kept on twenty-four days as fast as we could through the dry, deep, and hot sand, without finding any green bushes worth noticing for our

camels to eat, when we came to a famous valley and watering place, called *Haherah*. All our camels were almost expiring, and could not carry the whole of their loads; so we threw away a great deal of the salt before we got to *Haherah*, where we intended to stop twenty days to recruit our beasts, but who can conceive our disappointment and distress, when we found there was no water in any of the wells of this great valley, not one drop of rain had fallen there for the last year. The caravan, that amounted to upwards of one thousand men and four thousand camels when we set out, was already reduced to about six hundred men, and thirty-five hundred camels. The authority of *Sheick Ishrel* could now scarcely restrain those almost desperate men; every one was eager to save his own life and property, and separately sought the means of relief by running about the valley in a desultory manner, looking for water; this disorder continued for two days, when, being convinced that nothing could be done without union, they became obedient, and joined together in great numbers in digging out the different wells. After digging five days without the smallest sign of water, all subordination was entirely at an end. The Sheick, who was a wise and a prudent man, advised and insisted that all the camels should be killed but three hundred, so that the little water found in them, together with their blood, might keep the rest alive, as well as all the men, until, by the aid of Providence, they should reach some place where they could find water; but the company would not hearken to this advice, though the best that could possibly be given; no one being willing to have his own property sacrificed. *Sheick Ishrel*, however, directed thirty of the oldest and most judicious men to pick out the three hundred camels that were to be spared, who accordingly selected the most vigorous; but when they began to kill the others, a most furious quarrel and horrible battle commenced. The Sheick, though a man of God, was killed in a moment; two or three hundred more were butchered

by each other in the course of that dreadful day ; and the blood of the slain was drank to allay the thirst of those who shed it. Seid was badly wounded with a dagger in his arm ; above five hundred camels were killed this day ; and the others drank the water from their bodies, and also their blood.

“Fearing there would be no end to this bloody conflict until all had perished, and as I had been a captain in the other caravan, and knew how to steer a course on the desert, and as both Seid and myself were very strong men, we killed four out of six of our own camels that remained, in the first part of the night, and gave their water and blood to the other two ; we saved a small package of goods, and some barley, and some meat, and persuaded thirty of our friends privately to do as we had done, and join us, for we meant to set off that night. This was agreed on, for to stay there was certain death, and to go back was no less so. We were all ready about midnight, and without making any noise we moved off with our company of thirty men and thirty-two camels. The night was very cloudy and dark, and it thundered at a distance, as if the Almighty was angry with us for fighting together ; but there was no rain. We went towards the southwest, in hope of reaching *Tishlah*, another watering place, before our camels died ; the desert was dry and hard, and as we went along, we found only now and then a little hollow, with a few prickly shrubs in it : these the camels devoured as we passed among them ; but many died, so that on the twelfth day we had only eighteen camels left ; when the great God saved our lives by sending a tempest of rain, but he thundered so as to make the whole earth tremble, because of our sins, and we all fell upon our faces and implored his forgiveness ; the rain that fell upon the ground gave plenty of water to our camels, and we filled thirty skins with it ; when we steered to the south towards the borders of the desert. Nine of our company had died, and many of our camels, before we went down from the desert to the cul-

tivated land, and we then made to the south towards a little river of fresh water, to which some Arabs whom we met with, directed us, after they had first given us some rice and some milk, for all our milch camels had died on the desert.

“Those of us who had escaped with our lives from the desert, only twenty-one in number, with twelve camels, out of a caravan of one thousand men and four thousand camels, stopped near a small town, called *Wabilt*, on the bank of a river about half as broad as from the city of Mogadore to the island, that is to say, about fifty yards. We had no provisions, but the negroes seeing us in distress, came out and gave us some meat, and bread made of barley corn; here we remained ten days to recruit ourselves and our camels, which were just alive. The river on whose bank we remained, was called by those who spoke in Arabic, *el Wod Tenij*, and by the negroes, *Gozen-zair*. A very high ridge of mountains, great like Atlas seen from Suse, (but not capped with snow,) lie to the south-westward, and at a distance. After resting ourselves and our camels for ten days, we set forward for Tombuctoo. We traveled for four days to the eastward, through Soudan, a hilly country, but of a very rich soil, and much of it cultivated with the hoe. The whole country south of the great desert from the great ocean, a great way east, and including the district of Tombuctoo, is called by the Arabs and Moors, Soudan; of which Tombuctoo is the capital. Having watered our camels again, and finding the hill country tedious to get through, by reason of the trees, we bought some barley corn, and killed two cows, and went northward to the border of the desert, and traveled on to the eastward for eight days, when we fell in with the great path used by the caravans, and in two days more came near to the walls of Tombuctoo. We had seen a great many negroes near the river; they live in small towns, fenced in with large reeds, to keep off enemies and the wild beasts in the night; they dwell in small round huts, made with cane standing upright, are

covered with the same materials, and daubed with mud, to fill up the openings between them. The negroes were afraid of us when we came near their little towns, and those who were outside ran in and blocked up the passage in a minute ; but finding we did not come to rob them, as the large companies of Arabs often do, but that we were poor and hungry, they were willing to exchange barley corn and meat for some of our goods. Nearly all the few things we had were expended to keep us alive until we came near Tombuctoo. The king and the people of that city had been looking out for the caravan from Widnoon for two moons, but not one soul had arrived before us, and we were permitted to go into the city after delivering up our guns, powder and lead, to the king's officers, to keep until we should wish to depart. Tombuctoo is a very large city, five times as great as Swearah ; it is built on a level plain, surrounded on all sides by hills except on the south, where the plain continues to the bank of the same river we had been to before, which is wide and deep, and runs to the east ; for we were obliged to go to it to water our camels, and here we saw many boats made of great trees, some with negroes in them paddling across the river. The city is strongly walled in with stone laid in clay, like the towns and houses in Suse, only a great deal thicker. The house of the king is very large and high, like the largest house in Mogadore, but built of the same materials as the walls ; there are a great many more houses in that city built of stone, with shops on one side, where they sell salt and knives, and blue cloth, and haicks, and an abundance of other things, with many gold ornaments. The inhabitants are blacks, and the chief is a very large and gray-headed old black man, who is called *Shegar*, which means sultan, or king. The principal part of the houses are made with large reeds, as thick as a man's arm, and stand upon their ends, and are covered with small reeds first, and then with the leaves of the date trees ; they are round, and the tops come to a point like

a heap of stones. Neither the Shegar nor his people are Moslems, but there is a town divided off from the principal one, in one corner, by a strong partition wall, and one gate to it, which leads from the main town, like the Jews' town, or Millah, in Mogadore; all the Moors or Arabs who have liberty to come into Tombuctoo, are obliged to sleep in that part of it every night, or go out of the city entirely, and no stranger is allowed to enter that Millah without leaving his knife with the gate keeper; but when he comes out in the morning it is restored to him. The people who live in that part are all Moslemen. The negroes, bad Arabs, and Moors, are all mixed together, and marry with each other, as if they were all of one color; they have no property of consequence, except a few asses; their gate is shut and fastened every night at dark, and very strongly guarded both in the night and in the day time. The Shegar, or king, is always guarded by one hundred men on mules, armed with good guns, and one hundred men on foot with guns and long knives. He would not go into the Millah, and we only saw him four or five times in the two moons we stayed at Tombuctoo, waiting for the caravan: but it had perished on the desert; neither did the yearly caravan from Tunis and Tripoli arrive, for it had also been destroyed.

The city of Tombuctoo is very rich, as well as very large; it has four gates to it; all of them are opened in the day time, but very strongly guarded and shut at night. The negro women are very fat and handsome, and wear large round gold rings in their noses, and flat ones in their ears, and gold chains and amber beads about their necks, with images and white fish bones, bent round and the ends fastened together, hanging down between their breasts; they have bracelets on their wrists and on their ankles, and go barefoot. I had bought a small snuff-box filled with snuff in Morocco, and showed it to the women in the principal street of Tombuctoo, which is very wide; there were a great many about me in a few minutes, and they insisted on buying my snuff and

box ; one made me one offer, and another made me another, until one, who wore richer ornaments than the rest, told me in broken Arabic, that she would take off all she had about her and give them to me for the box and its contents. I agreed to accept them, and she pulled off her nose-rings and ear-rings, all her neck-chains with their ornaments, and the bracelets from her wrists and ankles, and gave them to me in exchange for it ; these ornaments would weigh more than a pound, and were made of solid gold at Tombuctoo, and I kept them through my whole journey afterwards, and carried them to my wife, who now wears a part of them."

[Here Sidi Hamet joined a caravan of 3000 men on a trading expedition to Wassanah. On his return to Tombuctoo, he sat out with the caravans belonging to Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Fez, to return to Morocco by the eastern route. The following is his narrative of the journey.]

"When every thing was ready, we set off from Tombuctoo, and traveled east-northerly twenty days through the hilly country, crossing a great many little streams of water that ran to the south and west towards the great river, it having rained very hard almost every night whilst we were at Tombuctoo. * * *

"After having refreshed our camels for ten days in a beautiful valley, we steered about north for eighteen days, when we came to the usual watering place, called *Weydlah*; here was a great deal of water in a pond, but it was black and quite salt, like the water in the wells close by the great sea ; it was very dead and stinking, and tasted of sulphur ; it is in a very deep pit and difficult to get at, there being only one place by which we could lead the camels down to the water ; it is said to be very deep in the middle, and was never known to be dry ; it was almost covered over by a thick green scum ; we could see the tracks of wild beasts, such as tigers and lions, near the water. We had seen a great many of these animals in our travels to Wassanah, and

when we were coming from Tombuctoo to the eastward. Our caravan consisted of about fifteen hundred men, most of us well armed with double barralled guns and scimitars, and we had about four thousand camels. It was a long journey to the next well; so we stopped here six days peaceably, having encamped in a valley a little distance west of the pond or lake. We had always made the camels lie down in a circle, placing the goods in the centre, and the men between the camels and the goods; we had two hundred men on guard, and always ready for any emergency. In the night of the sixth day, about two hours after midnight, we were attacked by a very large body of wandering Arabs; they had got to within a very few yards of us before they were discovered, and poured in a most destructive fire of musketry, at the same time running in like hungry tigers, with spears and scimitars in their hands, with dreadful yellings; they threw the whole caravan into confusion for a moment; but we were in a tight circle, formed by the camels, which, with the guards, kept them off for a short time, till the whole of our men seized their arms and rallied. The battle now raged most furiously; it was cloudy and very dark; the blaze of the powder making only a faint light, whilst the cracking of musketry, the clashing of swords, the shouts of the combatants, and the bellowings of the wounded and frightened camels, together with the groans of the wounded and dying men, made the most dreadful and horrid uproar that can be conceived; the fight continued for about two hours, hand to hand and breast to breast, when the assailants gave way and ran off, leaving their dead and wounded on the field of battle. We remained with our arms in our hands all night. I was wounded with a ball in my thigh, and Seid with a dagger on his breast. In the morning we numbered our men, and found that two hundred and thirty were killed, and about one hundred wounded; three hundred of the camels were either slain or so badly wounded that they could not walk, and so we killed them. We found seven

hundred of our enemies lying on the ground, either dead or wounded ; those that were badly wounded we killed, to put them out of pain, and carried the others that could walk along with us for slaves ; of these there were about one hundred. As the enemy fled, they took all their good camels with them, for they had left them at a distance, so that we only found about fifty poor ones, which we killed ; but we picked up two hundred and twenty good double-barrelled guns from the ground. The gun which Seid now uses is one of them ; we got also about four hundred scimitars and long knives. We were told by the prisoners that the company who attacked us was upwards of four thousand strong, and that they had been preparing for it three moons. We were afraid of another attack, and went off the same day, and traveled all the night, steering to the north-east (out of the course the caravans commonly take,) twenty-three days' journey, when we came to a place called the Eight Wells, where we found plenty of good water. Fifty of our men had died, and twenty-one of the slaves. We remained near these good wells for eleven days ; our camels feeding on the bushes in the valleys near them, when we again traveled to the north-westward ten days, to *Twati*, a good watering place. For the last three days we waded through deep sands, like those we passed among while going from Widnoon. We rested here two days, and then went down north into the country of dates, and came to the town of *Gujelah*, a little strong place belonging to Tunis ; there we found plenty of fruit and good water, and meat and milk ; we stopped there ten days, and then the part of the caravan going to Tripoli left us and went towards the east, by the mountains, and the rest went on to the north-easterly twelve days, to *Tuggurtah*, close by a mountain, near the river *Tegsah*, that is said to go to the sea near Tunis ; here we stopped twenty-five days, and the caravan for Tunis left us. *Tuggurtah* is a very large city, with high and thick walls, made tight, and has a great many people in it, all of the true re-

ligion, and a vast number of black slaves, and a few white ones. After stopping here twenty-five days, we set off to the north-westward through a very fine country, full of date and fig trees, and cattle, goats, camels, sheep, and asses; we then traveled ten days to the high mountains, where the caravan for Algiers parted from us, and we remained with about two hundred camels and eighty men, going to *Fez*. We then traveled over the great mountain, which we were told belongs to the same ridge we see close to Morocco and in *Suse*; (the Atlas;) and in two moons more we passed through *Fez*, where what remained of the caravan stopped, and we returned to our father's house, and our families, on the side of the Atlas mountains, near the city of Morocco, having been gone more than two years. We brought back only one camel, and a small load of merchandise, out of the eight camels richly loaded when we set out; yet we thanked God for having preserved our lives; for the whole caravan with which we started had perished on the desert; and out of the twenty-eight men who left it with us, only four reached their homes, and they on foot, and entirely destitute of property. I found my wife and all my children and my father's family in good health. Sheick Ali came to see me as soon as he got the news of my arrival, and after staying with me one moon, he invited me and Seid to go with him to his place, which invitation we accepted, and he furnished us with one camel and some haicks and blue cloth, and advised us to go up on to the desert and trade them away for ostrich feathers, to sell in Morocco or Swearah; so, being poor, we accepted his offer; bought his goods and his camel, and he was to have been paid when we came back. We set off for the desert, and had passed a great many tribes of Arabs without finding any feathers of consequence, when the great God directed our steps to your master's tent, and I saw you, (Capt. Riley.) I was once as bad a man as Seid, but I had been in distress and in a strange land, and had found friends to keep me and restore

me to my family ; and when I saw you naked and a slave, with your skin and flesh burnt from your bones by the sun, and heard you say you had a wife and children, I thought of my own former distresses, and God softened my heart and I became your friend ; I did all I could to lighten the burden of your afflictions : I have endured hunger, thirst, and fatigues, and have fought for your sake, and have now the high pleasure of knowing I have done some good in the world ; and may the great and universal Father still protect you ; you have been true and kind to me, and your friend has fed me with milk and honey ; and I will always in future do what is in my power to redeem Christians from slavery."

IN relation to the subsequent history of Wm. Willshire, Esq., all persons must feel an interest in knowing his fate ; which, it is to be regretted, was by no means a fortunate one. By his industrious application to his commercial business in Mogadore, he had acquired a fortune of some \$200,000, and on different occasions had resolved to wind up his affairs in Mogadore, and return to the land of civilization and refinement, which he was so eminently calculated to adorn. At one time his resolution had been so far carried into effect, that, through the agency of Capt. Riley at New York, he had purchased a beautiful situation in New York, at a cost of about \$16,000. His business, however, was not promptly closed, and Capt. Riley's death occurring soon after, the design of removing to America was abandoned, and the property in New York was subsequently sold. Well for him had he then taken a final leave of the African Continent ! For, in the military operations of the French in Africa, the French fleet un-

der command of Prince De Joinville, commenced an attack upon the town of Mogadore. For its defence the Arabs of the Desert came up in swarms like the locusts of Egypt. During the bombardment from the fleet, the attention of the Arabs was directed to the engagements with the enemy. But as soon as the bombardment had ceased, and the city, in ruins, lay at the mercy of the foe, the Arabs commenced an indiscriminate plunder of the inhabitants whom they were summoned to defend. In this outbreak of the ferocity and cupidity of the Arabs, unrestrained by any authority, Mr. Willshire's fortune was sacrificed. His warehouses were plundered — his dwelling robbed. The wild Arabs, rendered furious and ungovernable by their taste of blood and the prospect of plunder, threatened the life of Mr. Willshire and his family — seized his amiable lady, and dragged her through the streets by the hair of her head, with drawn scimeters at her throat, to silence her cries, and were endeavoring to carry her, as well as Mr. Willshire, in captivity, to the Desert. From this perilous situation they were rescued (after a desperate conflict,) by the aid of some of the resident Moors of Mogadore, and some officers of a British vessel then in port. On board this vessel Mr. Willshire and his family were taken, with nothing but the clothing of their persons, and thence carried to England, utterly destitute. He never returned to Mogadore to look after his property, which had been utterly destroyed and plundered by those rapacious savages of the African Deserts.

Upon his return to England he was appointed by the British Government Consul at Adrianople; where, at the last advices from him, he resided with his family, being still regarded, though no longer wealthy, as an honor to his nation, and an ornament to mankind.

The following beautiful lines were written by Miss L. CLINCH, then a young lady of Chillicothe, Ohio, after reading of Mr. Willshire's generosity and noble-hearted benevolence, as exhibited in Capt. Riley's narrative of his sufferings in, and redemption from Arabian bondage :

LINES INSCRIBED TO WILLIAM WILLSHIRE.

HEAVEN'S noblest attribute ! a richer gem
 Than ever decked a monarch's diadem
 Art thou, sweet Mercy ! Yet, alas ! how rare,
 Amid this world of crime, thy triumphs are !
 How dimly burns thy pure ethereal fire !
 How seldom does its glow th' clay-wrapt heart inspire !
 Yet, now and then, upon the path of time
 It blazes forth with lovely ray sublime :
 Sheds o'er this vale of tears its Heav'n lit flame,
 And throws a halo round the human name.
 See ! on the desert's verge, those wasted forms,
 Which life's expiring spark but feebly warms ;
 Worn down by toil, pain, hunger, wretchedness,
 And clad in squalid misery's abject dress ;
 And mark the hectic flush — the broken sigh —
 And the wild glance that lights each sunken eye.
 Oh, Heavens ! will he come ! and shall we be
 Restored once more to friends and liberty ?
 Or must we in our galling bonds remain ?
 But hark ! hie — Lo ! a horseman on the plain !
 'Tis he ! He comes, he pities, succors, saves
 The captives from their chains — the dying from their graves !
 Thine, *Willshire*, was the deed ! and, Oh ! to thee
 Is due the tribute of the brave and free !
 Noble and gen'rous ! round thy brow shall twine
 A fairer wreath — a laurel more divine
 Than all which e'er the blood-stained hero bore,
 Or science' sons in proudest moment wore.
 And when the sculptur'd bust, the " storied urn,"
 With victor's trophies shall to dust return —
 When gone is all that wealth and power bestow,
 Thy fame shall shine with an eternal glow.

